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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, AS WELL Eccleſiaſtical as Civil.

BY

M^r. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

VOL. XV.

CONTAINING

I. The Reign of King *JAMES* II.

II. A brief SUMMARY of the HISTORY of *ENGLAND*, from the Invaſion of *Julius Cæſar*, to the REVOLUTION in 1688.

Done into *ENGLISH* from the *FRENCH*, with large and uſeful NOTES mark'd with an *, by N. TINDAL, *A. M. Vicar of* Great-Waltham *in* Eſſex.

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BRITAN
NICVM

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK XXIV.

The Reign of King JAMES II, *from his Acceſſion to the Throne, to the Eſtabliſhment of King* WILLIAM *and Queen* MARY, *containing the Space of Four Years and Seven Days.*

27. JAMES II.

WIthin a few Hours after *Charles* II had breathed his laſt, his Brother the Duke of *York* was proclaimed King in *London*, by the Name of JAMES II. Having ſeen how the Government was ſettled for ſome Years paſt, we muſt not think it ſtrange, that there was no Motion either in *London*, or in any other Part of the Kingdom, to oppoſe the new King. Of the two Parties then in *England*, that which was againſt the *Bill of Excluſion* was triumphant, the other being entirely caſt down and oppreſſed. The Acceſſion of *James* II, to the Crown, was a freſh

1684-5. *The Duke of* York *is proclaimed King.*

1684 5. Occasion of Joy and Triumph to the former, and notwithstanding the Fears expressed by the other Party, on Account of a *Catholick Successor*, they who had supported his Interest, endeavoured to represent the late Change as the greatest of Blessings to the *English* Nation. The King, on his Part, omitted nothing that lay in his Power to confirm the good Opinion his Friends had of his Virtue and Sincerity. As soon as the Lords were returned to *Whitehall*, from proclaiming the King, he assembled the Privy-Council, and made them the following Speech:

MY LORDS,

The King's Declaration to the Council.

BEfore I enter upon any other Business, I think it fit to say something to you. Since it hath pleased Almighty God to place Me in this Station, and I am now to succeed so good and gracious a King, *as well as so kind a* Brother, *I think it fit to declare to you, that I will endeavour to follow so good an Example, and most especially in his great* Clemency *and* Tenderness *to his* People. *I have been reported to be a Man for* Arbitrary Power; *but this is not the only Story that has been made of* Me; *and I shall make it my endeavour to preserve the Government both in* Church *and* State *as it is now* Established *by Law. I know the Principles of the* Church *of* England *are for* Monarchy, *and the Members of it have shewed themselves good and* Loyal Subjects, *therefore I shall always take Care to* defend *and* support *it. I know too, that the* Laws *of* England *are sufficient to make the King as Great a Monarch as I can wish; and as I shall never depart from the just* Rights *and* Prerogative *of the Crown, so I shall never invade any Man's* Property. *I have often heretofore ventured my Life in Defence of the* Nation, *and I shall still go as far as any Man in preserving it in all its just* Rights *and* Liberties.

Every Body is pleased with the Speech.

This Speech being addressed to a Council wholly composed of Persons devoted to the King, was received

ceived with great Applauſe. His Majeſty was deſired to give Leave that it might be printed, and diſperſed among the People, which was immediately done. Moreover great Care was taken to extol the King's extreme Affection for his Subjects, and above all, his ſtrict Obſervance of his Word and Faith was ſo induſtriouſly propagated, that ſome counting it impoſſible for the King to promiſe what he did not intend to perform, began to give him the Name of *James the Juſt*, as if *to ſay* and *to do* were in him one and the ſame Thing. 1684-5.

Every one retains his Place.

The next Day, the King iſſued out a Proclamation, declaring, that all Perſons who at the late King's Deceaſe were poſſeſſed of any Office, ſhould be continued in the ſame, till the King's Pleaſure was farther known. He declared moreover, that all Orders and given Directions by the late King's Privy Council, ſhould be obeyed and performed as if he were ſtill alive. This is a clear Evidence of the great Influence that the King, when Duke of *York*, had in the Counſels of the King his Brother. Upon his coming to the Crown he made no Changes, either in the Council or in the Chief Places of Truſt, a plain Sign that he looked upon the Poſſeſſors as his Creatures. And indeed, after his Return from *Scotland*, it was he properly that governed the Kingdom in his Brother's Name. This being known to all, might have been a plain Indication with what Intent he promiſed to preſerve the *Proteſtant* Religion and the Rights of the Subject, ſince no one could be ignorant that he was the principal Author of the Plots in the late Reign, againſt Religion and the Liberties of the Nation. But the *Tories*, who were then highly exalted, were willing to ſhut their Eyes and not ſee the Danger the *Proteſtant* Religion was in, under a King who was ſo zealous a *Papiſt*. The King's bare Word was ſufficient to calm all their Uneaſineſs on that Account. As for Arbitrary Power, which began to creep in during the late Reign, ſo far were they from being frighted at it, that they rather conſidered it as

The King makes no Alterations.

The Tories conceive a great Opinion of the King.

1684-5. an effectual Means to keep their Adverſaries the *Whigs* in Subjection. Had they known or foreſeen to what Height *James* was reſolved to carry his Power, they would have been, doubtleſs, of another Mind. But they fancied that Things would remain as they were, that is to ſay, in a Situation to them very advantagious.

He goes publickly to Maſs.

Moſt of the Hiſtorians repreſent it as a ſurprizing Thing, that the King ſhould go publickly to the *Maſs* two Days after his Acceſſion to the Crown. But I cannot ſee where the Wonder was. Ever ſince the Year 1670, no Soul was ignorant that the Duke of *York* was a *Catholick*. On this Account he had reſigned the Office of Lord High-Admiral, and in the following Years, the Bill of *Excluſion*, which had cauſed three Parliaments to be diſſolved, was a ſufficient Evidence of this Truth. Where then could the Wonder be to ſee him go to *Maſs*, being King, ſince for the laſt fourteen Years he had made no Secret of his Religion, though by that he had run the Riſque of forfeiting his Right to the Crown?

Cuſtoms and Duties continued before they are granted.

But what gave more juſt Cauſe of Surprize, was his requiring by Proclamation the ſame Week, that the *Cuſtoms* and other *Duties* which had been granted to the King his Brother only for Life, ſhould be continued to be collected. * This was a manifeſt Invaſion of the Nation's Rights and Liberties. He could not be ignorant that an Incroachment of the ſame Nature had occaſioned a great Conteſt between the King his Father and the Parliament, and that this Conteſt

* Another Proclamation was put out for levying the *Additional Exciſe*, which had been given to the late King only for Life. There was a Clauſe in this Act, that empowered the Treaſury to make a Farm of it for three Years, without adding a limiting Clauſe, in Caſe it ſhould be ſo long due. And it was thought a great Stretch of the Clauſe to make a fraudulent Farm by which it ſhould continue to be levied three Years after it was determined, according to the Letter and Intent of the *Act*. A Farm was now brought out, as made during the King's Life, though it was well known that no ſuch Farm had been made, for it was made after his Death, but a falſe Date put to it. *Burnet* p. 622.

Conteſt brought on *the Petition of Right.* And yet, he not only did the ſame Thing, but uſed alſo the ſame Reaſons with *Charles* I, which were ſo little ſatisfactory to the Parliament. His Proceedings were the more ſurprizing, as he affected to take by Authority what he well knew would not be refuſed by the Parliament, conſidering the Diſpoſition the Nation was in. Though his Friends endeavoured to excuſe this Step, yet it made Impreſſion upon many Perſons of both Parties, who had no good Opinion of a Reign which began in this Manner. This gave Occaſion to ſuſpect that the new King's Promiſes were not ſo firmly to be relied on as they would fain have made People believe. 1684-5.

Another Step the King made at the ſame Time, and as it ſeems, without any Neceſſity, was to publiſh and cauſe Father *Huddleſton* a Prieſt, to atteſt that *Charles* II died a *Catholick*, and that the ſame Prieſt gave him the *Euchariſt* and *Extreme Unction*. *Huddleſton* publiſhed withal, a little Treatiſe, called, *a ſhort and plain Way to the Faith and Church*; which Treatiſe, the Author aſſures us, made great Impreſſions upon the Mind of King *Charles* in the Year 1651, immediately after the Battle of *Worceſter*, even ſo great that he then declared, *he had not ſeen any Thing more plain and clear upon the Subject*; *and the Arguments drawn from* Succeſſion *were ſo concluſive, he did not conceive how they could be denied.* In fine, at the ſame Time, *James* ordered two Papers to be publiſhed, which he had found in the King his Brother's ſtrong Box, written with his own Hand, both tending to prove the Neceſſity of a *viſible Church* and *infallible Guide* in Matters of Faith. * To confirm that *Charles* II was really a *Catholick*, Mr. *William Chaffinch*, Keeper of the King's Cloſet, made no Scruple to ſhow a little Chapel annexed to the Cloſet, where the King went ſecretly to *Maſs*. It is hard to con- *He publiſhes that the late King was a* Papiſt.

* The Duke of *Ormond*, beſides the King's Atteſtation, declared the Papers to be King *Charles*'s own Hand.

1684-5. ceive what great Advantage it could be to *James* to divulge such a Secret, considering the Injury it must needs do the late King's Reputation, who had so frequently and solemnly affirmed in full Parliament that he was a *good Protestant*, and had positively promised to maintain the *Protestant* Religion with all his Power. As *James* did thereby plainly discover the Insincerity of the King his Brother, he should, one would think, have been afraid, that it would be inferred, there was no more Reason to trust to his own Promises.

The late King's Funeral.

The Funeral of *Charles* II was solemnized on the 14th of *February* at Night. It may easily be judged, that it was not very expensive, since every Thing was got ready in eight Hours Time. It is observable, that *Charles* II had neglected after his Restoration to solemnize the King his Father's Funeral, on Pretence that his Body could not be found in *Windsor-Chapel*, the Place where it was interred, as the Lord *Clarendon* says in his History. But as it would not have been any great Trouble to search the whole Chapel, it is more likely that the Reason of this Neglect was the Charges of a Funeral, though *Charles* II, had received for that Purpose from his Parliament the Sum of Seventy Thousand Pounds. For the same Reason probably *James* caused the King his Brother to be buried without much Pomp, though *Charles* had left him ninety thousand Guineas in a Box.

James fills the vacant Places.

Two Days after the King ordered the Privy-Counsellours and great Officers of the Crown and Household to be sworn, and at the same Time filled the vacant Places. The Office of Lord-Treasurer, vacant since the Year 1679 by the Resignation of the Earl of *Danby*, was conferred on the Earl of *Rochester* the King's Brother-in-law; the Earl of *Clarendon* elder Brother to the Earl of *Rochester* was made *Lord Privy-Seal*, and the Marquess of *Halifax*, President of the Council.* While

* The Duke of *Beaufort* was made Lord President of *Wales*. The Duke of *Ormond* Lord Steward of the Household. The Lord *Godolphin*

While these things were in Agitation, the Counties, Cities, Boroughs, and Universities were employed in preparing congratulatory Addresses to the King, upon his Accession to the Crown. These Addresses, for the most Part, took notice of the King's positive Declaration to the Privy-Council, to maintain the Church of *England* and the Liberties of the Nation. But there were Two amongst others very remarkable. The first was from the *Barristers* and *Students* of the *Middle-Temple*, wherein with the deepest Sense of Gratitude they acknowledged his Majesty's great Goodness in extending his Royal Care of the Government to *the Preservation of the Customs*, which had been continually received by his Royal Predecessors for some Hundred of Years, and never questioned by any Parliament, unless in that wherein were sown the Seeds of Rebellion against the King his Father *. They concluded with saying, "May there "never want Millions as loyal as we are to sacrifice "their Lives and Fortunes in Defence of your sacred "Person and *Prerogative in its full Extent*": And promised that they would endeavour the Choice of such Representatives for the ensuing Parliament, as would not only concur in settling a Revenue to support the Government as formerly, but also show an entire Confidence in his Majesty. The Address from the County of *Suffolk* had these Words: "We are

1684-5. *Great Number of Addresses.*

That of the Middle-Temple.

Another from Suffolk.

Godolphin Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; the Lord Viscount *Newport* Treasurer of the Household; the Lord *Maynard* Comptroller; *Henry Savil* Vice-chamberlain; *Henry Bulkley* Master of the Household; Sir *Stephen Fox*, Sir *William Boreman*, Sir *Winston Churchill*, and Sir *Richard Mason*, Clerks and Comptrollers of the *Green-Cloth*; the Lord *Arlington* Lord High-Chamberlain.

* The Reason of thanking the King for seizing the *Customs*, alledged by those Gentlemen was, That Thousands would be ruined that had paid Custom in the late King's Time, if the *Customs* were not levied, and by an excessive Exportation and Importation Custom-free, that Branch of the Revenue would be rendred unprofitable for some Years to come: Not considering that Entries might be made and Bonds taken, to be sued when the *Act* for granting them should pass.

1684-5. "every Day making Steps towards your Majesty's "Grandour, by our Care for sending fit Representatives to a Parliament that we hope will no more "endure *Excluders* than a late one did *Abhorrers*".

That of the Quakers.

The *Quakers* also presented an Address to the King, wherein they said: "We are come to testify our "Sorrow for the Death of our good Friend *Charles*, "and our Joy for thy being made our Governour. "We are told thou art not of the Persuasion of the "Church of *England* no more than we; therefore we "hope that thou wilt grant us the same Liberty "which thou allowest thy self."

1685. *The King and Queen are crowned.*

The King's and Queen's Coronation was celebrated on the 23d of *April*, St. *George*'s Day, Patron of the *Order* of the *Garter*. Though such a Ceremony cannot be solemnized without Pomp, it was observed that the King retrenched several Things which caused a needless Expence; as for Instance, the *Cavalcade* from the *Tower* to *Westminster*, which was wont to be performed the Day before the Coronation, saving thereby a Charge of Sixty Thousand Pounds. But if some Authors are to be credited, the most considerable Retrenching was in the Words of the Coronation-Oath, out of which they said, several material Things were struck, without specifying the Particulars. Others maintain that it is an Aspersion on Archbishop *Sancroft*, who is supposed, without Foundation, to have consented to the striking out Part of the Oath. As I have seen no Proof on either Side, I forbear giving my Opinion. Thus much is certain, that the Crown being too little for the King's Head, was often in a tottering Condition and like to fall off. Mr. *Henry Sydney* supporting it once with his Hand, pleasently told the King, *This is not the first Time our Family hath supported the Crown (a)* *. The People reckoned

(a) Mr. *Sidney*, who was afterwards Earl of *Rumney* in King *William*'s Reign, was one of the principal Instruments in the Downfal

reckoned this as an ill Omen to the King, as well as another Thing which happened the ſame Day. In one of the Churches in *London*, the King's Arms painted in a Glaſs-Window ſuddenly fell down and broke in pieces, while the Reſt of the Window remained ſtanding, without any body being able to diſcover the Reaſon why that part ſhould fall ſooner than the reſt. 1689.

Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland.

The ſame Day that the King was crowned at *London*, the Parliament of *Scotland* met at *Edinburgh*, *William Douglaſs* Duke of *Queensbury* being Lord High-Commiſſioner. This Lord was entirely in the King's Party, but not in ſuch a Manner as to pretend to ſacrifice to him the *Proteſtant* Religion and his Country's Liberties. Before he left *London* in order to go for *Scotland*, he told the King plainly he could not engage to ſerve him in any thing but what ſhould be agreeable to the Laws; whereupon the King proteſted to him, that he had no Intention to make any Breach either in the eſtabliſhed Religion or the Laws.

The King's Letter to the *Scotch* Parliament ran, "That the many Experiences he had of the Loyalty "and exemplary Forwardneſs of that antient King-"dom, by their Repreſentatives aſſembled in Par-"liament in the Reign of his Brother, made him "deſirous to call them together in the Beginning of "his

Downfal of King *James*, and one of the Firſt that went and joined the Prince of *Orange*.

* The Crown was not well fitted to the King's Head: it came down too far, and covered the upper Part of his Face. The Canopy carried over him did alſo break. But to take ſuch things for Omens is ridiculous. *Turner* preached the Coronation-Sermon, in which he ſet forth that part of *Conſtantius Chlorus*'s Hiſtory, wherein he tried who would be trueſt to their Religion, and reckoned that thoſe would be faithfulleſt to himſelf who were trueſt to their God. The King and Queen reſolved to have all done in the *Proteſtant* Form, and to aſſiſt in all the Prayers: Only the King would not receive the *Sacrament*. In this certainly his Prieſts diſpenſed with him, and he had ſuch Senſes given him of the Oath, that he either took it as a Sin with a Reſolution not to keep it, or he had a reſerved Meaning in his own Mind.

1685. " his Reign, to give them an Opportunity not only " of ſhewing their Duty, but alſo to be exemplary to " others in their Demonſtrations of their Affection to " his Perſon, and Compliance to his Deſires. But that " which he had to propoſe to them at this time, was " this, which was both neceſſary as well for his Safety " and Service, and had a greater Tendency towards " ſecuring their own Privileges and Properties, than " the aggrandizing his Power, *which however he was* " *reſolved to maintain in its greateſt Luſtre, that he* " *might be the better enabled to protect and defend their* " *Religion eſtabliſhed by Law, their Rights and Proper-* " *ties, againſt Phanatical* (a) *Contrivances, Murders,* " *and Aſſaſſins* (b), which had brought them into ſuch " Difficulties which only the ſteady Reſolutions of " his Brother, and thoſe employed by him, could " have ſaved them from. That nothing had been " left undone by thoſe inhuman Traytors to overturn " their Peace; and therefore he hoped they would " be wanting in nothing to ſecure themſelves and " him."

The Lord Commiſſioner's Speech.

The High-Commiſſioner ſeconded the King's Letter with a Speech, wherein he gave Aſſurance of his Majeſty's Reſolutions to maintain and protect the Government of the Church as by Law eſtabliſhed (c), and alſo the Subjects Rights and Properties, in ſuch manner that no Perſon ſhould be injured by any arbitrary Oppreſſions of Soldiers or others, and that he would condeſcend as much in the Buſineſs of the *Exciſe* and *Militia* as could be juſtly expected. And on the other Side, his Majeſty expected from them to aſſert the Prerogatives of the Crown, and to eſtabliſh the Revenue as amply upon him and his Succeſſors,

(a) The *rigid Covenanters* and *Presbyterians* were called *Fanaticks* by the Court.

(b) Among theſe were the Perſons that murdered the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*.

(c) The ſame as in *England*, none other being then tolerated in *Scotland*.

ceſſors, as it was enjoyed by the King his Brother. 1685.
In the laſt place, the Lord-Commiſſioner deſired in very pathetick Terms, that effectual Means might be found to deſtroy the *Phanatical* Party, who were Wretches of ſuch monſtrous Principles and Practices, as paſt Ages never heard, nor thoſe to come will hardly believe.

Theſe *Phanatical* Murderers and Aſſaſſins could be no other than the *Presbyterians* of *Scotland*, who were properly the Body of the Nation, to whom was imputed the Murder of the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, as if it had been committed in purſuance of a Reſolution of the whole *Presbyterian*-Party.

The Earl of *Perth*, Lord Chancellor, made a Speech likewiſe, in which he enlarged on the King's great Virtues. I do not know whether he was yet a *Papiſt*, but at leaſt, preſently after, he embraced the *Catholick* Religion, and by that infallible Means he ſupplanted the Duke of *Queensbury*.

The Parliament returned a very humble and ſubmiſſive Anſwer to the King, promiſing to do whatever he had deſired. To perform which Promiſe they forthwith paſſed the three following *Acts*.

By the firſt *Act* were ratified all Statutes paſſed in the late Reign for the Security of Religion as at preſent profeſſed within the Kingdom.

By the ſecond, they annexed the *Exciſe* of foreign and inland Commodities to the Crown of *Scotland* for ever.

By the third they ordained, that all ſuch Perſons, as being cited in caſe of *High-Treaſon*, *Field* or *Houſe Conventicles*, or Church-Irregularities, ſhould refuſe to give Teſtimony, ſhould be liable to be puniſhed as guilty of thoſe Crimes reſpectively, in which they refuſed to be Witneſſes.

Tryal of Titus Oates.

Before the Meeting of the Parliament of *England*, which was called for the 19th of *May*, Three Perſons, hated by the King, the *Papiſts*, and the prevailing Party, were brought to a Tryal. The firſt was the famous *Titus Oates*, the Diſcoverer of the *Popiſh* Plot, and

1685. and one of the Witneſſes againſt the condemned *Jeſuits*. He was accuſed of Perjury on two Points of his Evidence, namely, for affirming upon Oath that he was preſent at the Grand Conſult held at *London* the 24th of *April* 1678, where, as he pretended, the Reſolution of killing the King was taken. Secondly, for ſaying, that Father *Ireland* a Jeſuit that was executed, was at *London* ſuch a Day. To convict him of theſe two real or pretended Crimes, he was brought before Chief-Juſtice *Jefferies* at the *King's-Bench* Bar, the 8th and 9th of *May* 1685. As I have amply ſpoken of this Matter in the Reign of *Charles* II, I ſhall not repeat here what has been already ſaid, but confine my ſelf to ſhow the Partiality wherewith *Oates* was tried and condemned.

In the firſt Place, immediately after the Indictment was read, and before any one Witneſs was heard, the Attorney-General made a Speech, concluding with ſaying, Oates *was one of the greateſt Impoſtors that ever did appear upon the Stage, either in this Kingdom or any other Nation.* It muſt be obſerved that this ſame Attorney-General had been one of the Council for the King in 1678, to ſupport and make the beſt of *Oates*'s Evidence.

2. Twenty Witneſſes from St. *Omer*'s were produced, who ſwore that *Oates* was at that Place the 24th of *April* 1678, at the very Time that he ſaid he was preſent at the Grand Conſult. It is obſervable that theſe very Witneſſes had depoſed the ſame thing in 1678, and that the *Jury* had made no account of their Evidence. But in 1685. there was not the leaſt Reaſon found to reject their Depoſitions.

3. *Oates* deſired it might be obſerved, that the King's Council who were now againſt him, had been for him in the Tryals of the Five *Jeſuits*, and particularly the Attorney and Sollicitor-General: That Lord Chief-Juſtice *Jefferies*, before whom his Cauſe was pleading, was among the King's Council in 1678, and did then expreſsly declare, *That the Verdict againſt the*

the Five Jeſuits was a juſt Verdict. As he laid great Streſs upon the *Verdicts* given upon his Depoſitions, he was told, that theſe *Verdicts* had been thought juſt at one time, and unjuſt at another. Moreover, the Records of the Tryals of Sir *George Wakeman* and the Earl of *Caſtlemain* were produced, who being accuſed of having a Hand in the pretended Plot, were acquitted, and depoſed upon Oath, that *Oates* had not ſaid one word of Truth. 1685.

4. *Oates* demanded whether a *Papiſt in a Cauſe of Religion might be believed?* It was replied, *He might.* And as if the Queſtion had been impertinent and foreign to the purpoſe, *Jefferies* asked him, *Whether he was come there to preach?*

5. *Oates* urged the Lord *Coke*'s Practice, who would not allow of a *Popiſh Recuſant* for a Witneſs, even between Party and Party. To which it was anſwered in general, that this Practice was contrary to Law.

6. He ſaid, that the Witneſſes againſt him were bred in an *Engliſh Seminary*, which was againſt Law. *Jefferies* replied, it was the ſame with a *Diſſenter.*

7. He inſiſted upon the Statute of the 27th Year of *Elizabeth* againſt *Seminary Prieſts* and *Jeſuits.* Whereupon *Jefferies* asked him, Whether the Witneſſes owned themſelves to be *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits?*

8. He pleaded the *Statute* of the 3d of *Charles* I, to which *Jefferies* anſwered, It was nothing to the purpoſe.

9. Laſtly, He repreſented that the Lord *Shaftsbury* upon his Tryal moving that he might have Liberty to bring an Indictment of Perjury againſt the Witneſſes that accuſed him, the Court over-ruled the Motion, and would not ſuffer the King's Evidence to be indicted of Perjury, nor the *Popiſh* Plot called in Queſtion. He inferred from thence, that having been himſelf Evidence for the King, he could not for that reaſon be indicted of Perjury. *Jefferies* told him, all this was idle and nothing to the purpoſe. Then ſumming up the Evidence, he concluded

1685. with these Words: "There does not remain the "least Doubt but that *Oates* is the blackest and "most perjured Villain that ever appeared upon the "Face of the Earth."

The Jury withdrawing for about a Quarter of an Hour, brought him in guilty of the Perjury he was accused of.

The next Day he was tried upon the other Information of Perjury at the Tryal of Father *Ireland*. Above Forty Witnesses were produced against him, Nine of whom were *Protestants*, who swore, that *Ireland* was in *Staffordshire* when *Oates* said he was in *London*, and he was found guilty of this Indictment likewise. What is most strange is, that there are Men who pretend, there is not the least Appearance of Injustice or Partiality in the *Verdict* against *Oates*, but on the contrary, nothing can be more evidently Partial than the *Verdict* against the Five *Jesuits*. I leave it to the unbiassed Reader to compare them and judge. However, at least it cannot be denied that there was a great deal of Passion in the Sentence against *Oates*, and much more in the Execution of the same. The Sentence ran thus:

1. That he should pay for a Fine One Thousand *Marks* upon each Indictment.

2. That he should be stript of all his *Canonical* Habits.

3. That he should stand in the *Pillory* before *Westminster-Hall*-Gate upon *Monday* next, for an Hour's time, with a Paper over his Head (which he must first walk with round about to all the Courts in *Westminster-Hall*) declaring his Crime, and that upon the first Indictment.

4. That for the second Indictment he should upon *Tuesday* stand in the *Pillory* at the *Royal Exchange* in *London*, for an Hour, with the same Inscription.

5. On *Wednesday* he should be whipt from *Aldgate* to *Newgate*.

6. On

6. On *Friday* he ſhould be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*. 1686.

7. And for *annual Commemorations*, upon every 24th of *April* as long as he ſhould live, he was to ſtand in the Pillory at *Tyburn* juſt oppoſite to the Gallows for an Hour.

8. That upon every 9th of *Auguſt* he was to ſtand in the Pillory at *Weſtminſter-Hall*-Gate, becauſe he had ſworn that *Ireland* was in Town between the 8th and 12th of *Auguſt*. The like on every 10th of *Auguſt* at *Charing-Croſs*, and over-againſt the *Temple-Gate* every 11th of *Auguſt*. And upon every 2d of *September* he was to do the ſame at the *Royal-Exchange*. All this he was to do every Year during his Life: and be committed a cloſe Priſoner as long as he lived.

After pronouncing this Sentence, *Jefferies* added, that if it had been in his Power, *Oates* ſhould have been condemned to die.

It muſt be obſerved, that ſtanding in the *Pillory*, which in other Countries only expoſes a Perſon to ſhame, is in *England* ſomething more; for it is permitted to pelt thoſe that ſtand there with Dirt and all ſorts of Naſtineſs, and it often happens that the Mob abuſe this Liberty, and caſt rotten Eggs and even Stones at the Priſoner.

But what was thought moſt barbarous in this Sentence was the ordering a Man to be whipt twice in three Days. Some charitable Perſons uſed their Endeavours to beg off part of this wretched Man's Puniſhment, and made Application to the Queen, intreating her to interceed for him, at leaſt with regard to the ſecond Scourging. But all Interceſſion was in vain. The Sentence was executed with all imaginable Rigour and Barbarity. The firſt Day that he was whipped he was tied to a Cart, and as the Hangman no doubt was commanded not to ſpare him, he executed the Order with ſuch Cruelty, as was unknown to the *Engliſh* Nation. *Oates* ſwooned away

1685. away ſeveral times the firſt Day with the Extremity of the Anguiſh. We may judge what he indured the ſecond Day, when his Wounds were yet freſh. In a word, his ſuſtaining ſuch great Torments, and eſcaping with Life, was looked upon as ſomething miraculous. Every body was ſenſible that both in the Sentence and in the Execution, Revenge had a greater Share than Juſtice, and that he was made a Sacrifice to the *Manes* of the Five *Jeſuits* executed in the late Reign.

Tryal of Dangerfield.

The next that fell a Sacrifice to the *Catholicks*, not long after *Oates*, was *Thomas Dangerfield*, the Perſon that diſcovered the pretended *Meal-Tub Plot*, which he had laid to the Charge of the *Proteſtants*. But afterwards, not being able to make good before the Council what he had depoſed, he confeſſed that he was ſet on to contrive this Fiction by the Counteſs of *Powis* and the *Popiſh* Lords in the *Tower*. Moreover, he had publiſhed a Narrative of all the ſecret Practices made uſe of as well to corrupt him, as to render the Plot probable. As he owned that he had received Money from the late King and the Duke of *York*, the laſt would never ſuffer ſuch an Offence to go unpuniſhed, when he came to be King. *Dangerfield* therefore was committed to Priſon, and indicted for publiſhing a ſcandalous Libel. He was tried and brought in Guilty by the *Jury*, after which he received Judgment at the *King's-Bench* Bar, "That he "ſhould ſtand twice in the Pillory; that he ſhould "be whipt from *Aldgate* to *Newgate* on one Day, "and from *Newgate* to *Tyburn* on another, and "ſhould pay a Fine of Five Hundred Pounds." The Scourging was executed with Rigour, though with leſs Cruelty than on *Oates*. The ſecond Day *Dangerfield*, after the Whipping was over, being in a Coach againſt *Hatton-Garden*, one *Robert Frances* a Barriſter of *Grey's-Inn* came up to the Coach-ſide, and uſing ſome inſulting Expreſſions, *Dangerfield* returned a reproachful Anſwer. *Frances* having a ſmall Cane in his Hand, thruſt it into his Eyes with all his Force, which in two Hours put an end to his Life

He is condemned to be whipped

He is killed.

Life. *Frances* was condemned to be hanged for the Deed, and executed accordingly, the King, though ſtrongly ſollicited for a Pardon, not thinking proper to let ſuch a Crime go unpuniſhed. 1685.

Richard Baxter a *Presbyterian* Miniſter, famous for his voluminous Writings during the Troubles, in favour of his Religion againſt the Church of *England*, was the Third Inſtance of the Gentleneſs of the new Government. As he could not be proceeded againſt for the Books he had publiſhed during the Troubles, by reaſon of the *Act of Indemnity*, Occaſion was taken to proſecute him for a late Book, intitled, *a Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament*, wherein it was pretended were ſeveral ſeditious Paſſages, and highly reflecting on the Biſhops. *Baxter* being brought before *Jefferies* at the *King's Bench* Bar, moved that farther time might be allowed him for his Tryal, whereupon *Jefferies* with his uſual Moderation, cried out, *I will not give him a Minute's Time more to ſave his Life: We have had to do with other Perſons, but now we have a* Saint *to deal with; and I know how to deal with* Saints *as well as* Sinners. *Yonder*, ſays he, *ſtands* Oates *in the Pillory, and ſays, he ſuffers for the* Truth, *and ſo ſays* Baxter; *but if* Baxter *did but ſtand on the other Side of the* Pillory *with him, I would ſay there ſtood two of the greateſt* Rogues *and* Raſcals *in the Kingdom.* In this manner did the Judge prepare the *Jury* before any Evidence was heard. It would be needleſs to inſert the Particulars of the Charge and *Baxter*'s Defence. The Point was only to know whether certain Paſſages of his late Book could be applied to the Prelates of the Church of *England*, or were ſolely deſigned againſt thoſe of the Church of *Rome*. *Baxter*'s Council * ur- Baxter's *Tryal.*

* *Baxter*'s Council were *Wallop*, *Williams*, *Rotherham*, *Atwood*, and *Phipps*, all retained by Sir *Henry Aſhurſt*, who had a particular Reſpect for *Baxter*. It may be noted of *Baxter*, that ſoon after the Reformation he refuſed the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*, and when turned out of his Livings with the Reſt, ſent back a Penſion of a Hundred Pounds a Year offered him by the King. He frequently attended Divine Service in the Church of *England*, went to the Sacrament and perſuaded others to do the ſame.

1685. ged, that without a forced Construction none of them could be applied against the Bishops of the Church of *England*. The whole Process turned upon this Point. But it will not be superfluous to show the Passion and Partiality of *Jefferies* in this as in other Matters. *Baxter* alledged in his Defence, "That he had been so moderate with respect to the "Church of *England*, and had spoken so honourably "of the Bishops, that he had incurred the Censure of "many of the Dissenters upon that Account." *Jefferies*, laying aside on this Occasion the Office of a Judge to turn Evidence, affirmed, "That *Baxter* was "an Enemy to the Name and Thing, the Office and "Persons of Bishops"; and severely reprimanded the Council, probably for defending their Cause too well. Then, speaking to *Baxter*, he said, Richard *thou art an old Fellow, an old Knave, thou hast written Books enough to load a Cart, every one as full of* Sedition, *I might say* Treason, *as an Egg is full of Meat. Hadst thou been whipped out of thy writing Trade forty Years ago, it had been happy. Thou pretendest to be a Preacher of the* Gospel of Peace, *and thou hast one Foot in the Grave; it is time for thee to begin to think what Account thou intendest to give. But leave thee to thy self, and I see thou'l't go on as thou hast begun; but by the Grace of God I will look after thee. I know thou hast a mighty Party, and I see a great many of the* Brotherhood *in Corners, waiting to see what will become of their mighty* Don, *and a Doctor of the Party* [*Dr.* Bates] *at your Elbow; but by the Grace of Almighty God I will crush you all.*

The same Lord Chief Justice in summing up the Evidence said; *It is notoriously known that there has been a Design to ruin the King and the Nation; and this has been the main Incendiary: He is as modest now as can be; but Time was when no Man was so ready at* bind your Kings in Chains, and your Nobles in Fetters of Iron; *and* to your Tents, O Israel! *Gentlemen, for God's sake don't let us be gulled twice in an Age.*

It

It manifeſtly appears from theſe laſt Words of *Jeffries*, that *Baxter*'s Book was only a Pretence made uſe of to puniſh him for what he had done during the Troubles. However this be, ſuch was the impartial Manner in which this Judge directed the *Jury*. There is ſcarce a Man who will deny that as well during this Reign, as in the latter Part of the former, all the *Juries* were packed, and conſiſted of Perſons who had engaged before-hand to be guided by the Court. In Concluſion, *Baxter* being found guilty, was condemned to pay for a Fine Five hundred Marks; to lie in Priſon till he paid it; and to be bound to his good Behaviour for ſeven Years. 1685.

The Parliament meets.

The Parliament met the 19th of *May*. But the King was pleaſed that the *Commons* ſhould firſt chuſe their Speaker before he made his Speech to both Houſes. The Choice fell upon Sir *John Trevor*, who was recommended by one of the Secretaries of State; after which the King came to the Parliament the 22d of *May*, and made the following Speech to both Houſes. As he had that Morning received Advice of the Earl of *Argyle*'s Arrival in *Scotland*, it gave him Occaſion to add ſomething to his Speech on that Subject.

The King's Speech to both Houſes.

"*My* LORDS *and* GENTLEMEN,

"AFter it pleaſed Almighty God, to take to his "Mercy the late King my deareſt Brother, "and to bring me to the peaceable Poſſeſſion of "the Throne of my Anceſtors; I immediately reſol- "ved to call a Parliament, as the beſt Means to ſet- "tle every Thing upon thoſe Foundations, as may "make my Reign both eaſy and happy to you: "Towards which, I am diſpoſed to contribute all "that is fit for me to do. What I ſaid to my "Privy Council, at my firſt coming there, I am de- "ſirous to renew to you; wherein I fully declared "my Opinion concerning the *Principles of the Church*

1685. " *of* England, whose Members have shewed themselves so eminently Loyal in the worst of Times, " in Defence of my Father, and Support of my " Brother, of Blessed Memory, *that I will always* " *take Care to defend and support it: I will make it* " *my Endeavour to preserve the Government both in* " *Church and State, as it is by Law established*; *and* " *as I will never depart from the just* Rights *and Pre-* " *rogatives of the Crown, so I will never invade any* " *Man*'s Property: And you may be sure, that having hitherto ventured my Life in the Defence of " the Nation, I will still go as far as any Man in " preserving it in all its just Rights and Liberties.

" And having given this Assurance concerning the " Care I will have of your *Religion* and *Property*, " which I have chosen to do in *the same Words*, which " I used at my first coming to the Crown, the better to evidence to you, that I spoke them not by " Chance, and, consequently, that you may firmly " rely upon a *Promise* so solemnly made; I cannot " doubt that I shall fail of suitable Returns from " you, with all imaginable Duty and Kindness on " your Part; and particularly, in what relates to " the settling of my *Revenue*, and continuing it during my Life, as it was in the Time of the King " my Brother. I might use many Arguments to enforce this Demand, for the Benefit of Trade, the " Support of the Navy, the Necessity of the Crown, " and the Well-being of the Government itself; " which I must not suffer to be precarious: But I am " confident, your own Consideration of what is just " and reasonable, will suggest to you whatsoever " might be enlarged upon this Occasion. There is " yet one popular Argument which I foresee may be " used against what I ask of you, from the Inclination Men have for frequent Parliaments, which " some may think will be the best Security, by feeding me from time to time, by such Proportions " as they shall think convenient: And this Argu-

" ment,

" ment, it being the firſt time I ſpeak to you from 1685.
" the Throne, I will anſwer once for all, that this
" would be a very improper Method to take with Me,
" and that the beſt Way to engage Me to meet you
" often, *is always to uſe Me well.* I expect therefore
" that you will comply with Me in what I have
" deſired, and that you will do it ſpeedily; that this
" may be a ſhort Seſſion, and that we may meet
" again to all our Satisfactions."

" *My* LORDS *and* GENTLEMEN,

" I Muſt acquaint you that I have had News this
" Morning from *Scotland*, that *Argyle* is landed in
" the *Weſt-High-lands*, with the Men he brought with
" him from *Holland*. That there are two *Declara-*
" *tions* publiſhed, one in the Name of all thoſe in
" Arms, the other in his own; it would be too long
" for Me to repeat the Subſtance of them, it is ſuf-
" ficient to tell you, I am charged with *Uſurpation*
" and *Tyranny*: The ſhorter of them I have directed
" to be forthwith communicated to you. I will take
" the beſt Care I can, that this *Declaration* of their
" own Faction and Rebellion may meet with the Re-
" ward it deſerves: And I will not doubt but you
" will be the more zealous to ſupport the Govern-
" ment, and give me my Revenue as I have deſired
" it, without Delay."

Remarks on the Speech.

I ſhall make upon this Speech, three Remarks, the Importance whereof will be ſeen hereafter. The firſt is, that when the King renewed to his Parliament the Promiſe he had made to the Council to preſerve the Government both in Church and State, as it was by Law eſtabliſhed, nothing was farther from his Thoughts than the Performance of it. This will very clearly appear in the Sequel. Wherefore this Promiſe of his was only a Decoy made uſe of by the King to ingage the Parliament to enable him

1685. to go on without them. Which accordingly fell out, for this Parliament, which had but two ſhort Seſſions, was the only one the King called throughout his whole Reign.

The ſecond Remark is, that when the King ſaid, he would not ſuffer the Government to be precarious, that is, to depend upon the Aids the Parliament would grant him from time to time; he plainly enough intimated, that he meant to govern in a different Manner from his Predeceſſors, ſeeing among all the Kings of *England* there was never any whoſe Government was not ſupported by the Aids of the Parliaments.

The third is, that the Objection which he foreſaw would be made to his Deſire concerning his Revenue, was ſo ſtrong, that he could find no other Argument to anſwer it with than a Threat. A poor Argument! if ever there was one, which ought rather to have induced the Parliament to provide againſt this ſame Menace. For if the King in Caſe of Refuſal, thought himſelf powerful enough to make the Parliament repent, how much greater Reaſon was there to fear, if he ſhould be enabled to proceed without the Parliament, and to execute his Threat!

Various Opinions of the preſent Parliament.

This Parliament, according to ſome Hiſtorians, was better compoſed than any had been of a long While. All the Members were rich, zealous for their Country, good Churchmen, averſe to all Republican or Anti-monarchical Principles, faithful to the King, and of ſo wonderful Harmony among themſelves, that the like had never been ſeen. The Meaning of all which in one Word is, that they were *Tories* without any Mixture of *Republicans*, *Presbyterians* or *Whigs*. This Parliament conſiſted indeed of Perſons who were prepoſſeſſed in Favour of the King; and imagining that, according to his Promiſes, he would never meddle with the Laws or Religion, believed they ſhould do the Kingdom a ſignal Service, in enabling the King to oppoſe effectually the Attempts of the

Whigs.

Whigs. They were miſtaken in their Suppoſition: But it cannot be inferred from their Conduct, that they intended to betray the Nation's Intereſts, as they plainly ſhewed afterwards. 1685.

Other Hiſtorians do not give the ſame Idea of this Parliament, they pretend, that the Members for the moſt Part, being elected by the Intrigues of the Court, were *Tories*, and moſt violent for the Doctrine of *Paſſive-Obedience*, and for that Reaſon delivered up the Liberties of the People, and paved the Way for the King to become abſolute, by granting him ſuch a Revenue as enabled him to govern without a Parliament.

Though theſe two Aſſertions, with Reſpect to this Parliament, ſeem to be oppoſite, it is however no hard Matter to reconcile them on Suppoſition of a Thing which is very true, namely, The Parliament was deceived by the King's Promiſes. So the only Difference between theſe two Opinions, is that the *Whigs* accuſe the *Tories* of betraying the Intereſts of their Country, with premeditated Deſign, and the *Tories*, without denying that they acted in Effect againſt the Intereſts of the Kingdom, maintain that they did ſo through a too great Confidence in the King's Word, given from the Throne in the moſt ſolemn Manner. We ſhall ſee hereafter that the Parliament had no ſuch Intention, as is imputed to them: But I cannot ſay their Imprudence may be ſo eaſily vindicated. *.

However

* *Burnet* ſays of this Parliament, that all Arts were uſed to manage Elections, ſo that the King ſhould have a Parliament to his Mind. Complaints came up from all Parts of *England* of the Injuſtice and Violence uſed in Elections beyond what had ever been practiſed in former Times. In the new Charters that had been granted, the Election of the Members was taken out of the Hands of the Inhabitants, and reſtored to the Corporation Men, all thoſe being left out, who were not acceptable at Court. In ſome Boroughs they could not find a Number of Men to be depended upon: So the neighbouring Gentlemen were made Corporation-

1685. *Both Houses thank the King. His Answer.*

However this be, both Houſes pleaſed with the King's Speech, waited on him the ſame Day with an Addreſs of Thanks; to which the King anſwered, "That he was very much pleaſed with their Thanks, "and that he could repeat no more than what he "had ſaid in the Morning, and they ſhould find "that he would be as good as his Word."

Vote for granting the ſame Revenue as Charles II *enjoyed.*

This Confirmation was ſo agreeable to the *Commons*, that when they came back to their Houſe, they voted immediately, *nemine contradicente*, "That all the "Revenue enjoyed by the late King at his Death, "ſhould be granted to his preſent Majeſty, and ſet-"tled upon him during Life." Thus the conſtant and ordinary Revenue of the late King, which, according to the Intent of the firſt Parliament held in his Reign, was to be twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, but which amounted to above double this Revenue, I ſay, which two Parliaments had ſpent about two Years in ſettling, was granted to *James* II, in the Space of two Hours; they who ſpeak the moſt moderately of this Revenue, compute it at more than two Millions. But a Hiſtorian * pretends, that including the one Hundred and fifty Thouſand Pounds, enjoyed by the King while Duke of *York*, and annexed to the Crown; the whole together amounted to above two Millions five Hundred and fifty Thouſand Pounds. This Liberality was not founded upon the Services the King when Duke of *York* had done the Nation, but ſolely upon his Promiſes to ſupport the Government of the Church and State. But through extreme Prejudice, the Parliament was not aware that by

men: And in ſome Places, Perſons of other Counties, not ſo much as known in the Borough, were named. This was practiſed in the moſt avowed Manner in *Cornwal* by the Earl of *Bath*, who put the Officers of the Guards Names in almoſt all the Charters of that County, ſo that the King was ſure of Forty four Votes on all Occaſions. There were not above Forty but what were thus choſen. *Burnet* p, 625.

* *Roger Coke*, who ſays that the Cuſtoms, and other Branches of the Revenue, amounted to 2,400,000 *l.* beſides the 150,000 *l.*

by granting the King for Life ſuch an immenſe Revenue, they enabled him to maintain an Army and Fleet without the Aſſiſtance of Parliament, and conſequently to ſubdue thoſe that ſhould dare to oppoſe his Will, as he did in effect. 1685.

The Popiſh Lords are diſcharged together with the Earl of Danby.

The *Commons* having given the King ſo real a Demonſtration of their Zeal and Affection, the Lords were willing likewiſe to ſhow him how much they were devoted to him in any thing that lay in their Power. To that End the King having ſent a Warrant to the Attorney-General to enter a *Noli Proſequi* upon the Indictments againſt the *Popiſh* Lords, who had been Priſoners in the *Tower* for the Plot, and againſt the Earl of *Danby*, the Houſe of Peers annulled their Order of the 19th of *March* 1678-9, and entirely diſcharged theſe Lords who had been let out only upon Bail.

Bill in the Houſe of Lords to reverſe the Lord Stafford's *Attainder.*

Theſe Proceedings in favour of the *Popiſh* Lords made way for the bringing in a *Bill* to reverſe the *Attainder* of the Lord Viſcount *Stafford* in the Year 1680. The ſole Reaſon alledged in the *Bill* for this Reverſal was in theſe words: *Whereas it is now manifeſt that the ſaid* William *late Viſcount* Stafford *was innocent of the Treaſon laid to his Charge, and the Teſtimony whereby he was found Guilty was falſe, Be it enacted*, &c. Thus the Preparers of the *Bill* founded the Lord *Stafford*'s Innocence upon *Oates*'s being condemned for Perjury, though in *Oates*'s Tryal there was not a word ſaid of his Teſtimony againſt *Stafford*. Nevertheleſs the *Bill* was paſſed by a Majority of Voices. But ſuch of the Lords * as were againſt it entered their Diſſents for the following Reaſons:

1. Becauſe the Aſſertion in the *Bill* of its *being now manifeſt that the late Viſcount* Stafford *died Innocent, and that the Teſtimony on which he was convicted was falſe*, which are the ſole Grounds and Reaſons given to

* The Earls of *Angleſea* and *Radnor* and ſome others.

1685. to support the *Bill*, are destitute of all Proof, Warrant, or Testimony, or Matter of Record before us.

2. That the Record of the *King's-Bench* read at the Committee concerning the Conviction last *Term*, of one of the Witnesses for Perjury, in collateral Points of Proofs, of no Affinity to the Lord *Stafford*'s Tryal, and given several Years before, it is conceived, can be no Ground to invalidate the Testimony upon which the said Viscount was convicted, which could never legally be by one Witness, and was in Fact by the Judgement of his Peers, on the Evidence of at least Three.

3. It is conceived the said Judgement in the *King's-Bench* was unprecedented, illegal, and highly derogatory to the Honour, Judicature, and Authority of this Court, who have Power to question and punish Perjuries of Witnesses before them, and ought not to be imposed upon by the Judgements of inferiour Courts, or their Attainder of a Peer invalidated by Implication; and the *Popish Plot*, so condemned, pursued and punished by his late Majesty and four Parliaments, after publick solemn Devotion through the whole Kingdom, by Authority of Church and State, to be eluded to the Arraignment and Scandal of the Government; and only for restoring the Family of one *Popish* Lord. And all this, being without any Matter judicially appearing before us to induce the same; and the Records of the Tryal not suffered to be read for the Information of the Truth, before the passing of the *Bill*.

4. For many other weighty Reasons offered and given by divers Peers in the two Days Debate of this *Bill*, both at the Committee, and in the House.

These Reasons plainly show, in my Opinion, that the Lords, in passing this *Bill*, designed rather to oblige the King than do Justice to the Memory of the Lord *Stafford*. But the *Commons* had not the same Complaisance, since it was dropt after the second Reading and

and never heard of more, they having no Intention to ſtrengthen or encourage the *Popiſh* Party. * 1685.

Act of Parliament in Scotland.

The Parliament of *Scotland* continued extremely zealous for the King's Intereſt. Beſides the *Acts* before-mentioned, they paſſed one for granting the King during Life the yearly Sum of Two Hundred Thouſann Pounds; and another declaring, That the giving or taking the *national Covenant*, or *the ſolemn League and Covenant*, or owning them as *lawful* or *obligatory*, ſhould incur the Crime and Penalties of High-Treaſon.

Project of the Earl of Argyle and the Duke of Monmouth.

Ever ſince the Earl of *Argyle* had made his Eſcape, after his Condemnation in 1681, he had kept himſelf concealed at *Amſterdam*, very few Perſons in *Scotland* knowing where he was. He waited there for a favourable Opportunity either to make his Peace with the King, or to ſtir up in *Scotland*, where he thought he had many Friends, an Inſurrection, which ſhould help him again to the Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate. He believed a fair Occaſion offered for an Inſurrection after the Death of *Charles* II, knowing that the Duke of *York*, who was to ſucceed, was beloved neither in *Scotland* nor *England*. For though in both Kingdoms the Government and all the publick Places and Offices were in the Hands of the *Tories*, yet the Earl of *Argyle* fancied that if by his Credit he could raiſe an Army in *Scotland*, all the *Presbyterians* would liſt themſelves under his Banner, and then his Party would be much ſuperiour to the King's.

Whilſt he was full of theſe Thoughts, the Prince of *Orange*, foreſeeing that the King his Father in-law would ſoon deſire the *States* to deliver up the Duke of *Monmouth*, adviſed him out of hand to retire elſewhere. The Duke took his Advice and withdrew to *Bruſſels*. But fearing he was not ſafe there, and that the Court of *Spain* would think proper to ſacrifice him to King *James*, he repaired privately to *Amſterdam*,

* *Burnet* ſays the *Bill* ſtuck with the Lords and would not go down, they having no mind to reverſe and condemn paſt Proceedings, *p.* 640.

1685. *Amsterdam*, where he had frequent Conferences with the Earl of *Argyle*. They had neither of them any thing ready to make an Attempt, which might have the least Appearance of Success. They were Both without Money, and not sure of Friends in *England* or *Scotland* to second their Projects. Mean while, the Earl of *Argyle* meeting at *Amsterdam* with a rich Widow, who lent him Ten Thousand Pounds, this unexpected Supply encouraged him so, that he resolved to make a Descent into *Scotland*, where he hoped that his Name, his Credit, and the Cause he intended to support, would procure him Friends enough. But the Duke of *Monmouth* was not in so good a Situation. He flattered himself that the Enmity of the *Whigs* against the Duke of *York* would revive, when they should see one at the Head of their Party: but he had yet no private Correspondence with such of the Nobility and Gentry, whose Credit would be able to support him, and moreover he was in want of Money. However, the Earl of *Argyle* perceiving how advantagious it would be to him, that the Duke of *Monmouth* should make an Invasion in *England*, whilst he should himself do the like in *Scotland*, managed so, that at length he persuaded him to run the same Hazard, though not till after the Duke had long held out against his Sollicitations. Indeed, as the Duke's Affairs then stood, it was a rash Undertaking, if ever there was one, especially as it was to be executed when the Parliament was sitting. But some * Friends he had about him very unfit to manage such a Design, and who were tired with living in Exile, did all they could to spur him on. So he gave the Earl of *Argyle* his word, that as soon as he should hear

Argyle *persuades* Monmouth *to invade* England.

* Particularly *Wade*, *Ferguson*, but chiefly the Lord *Grey* and the Lady *Wentworth*, who followed him to *Brussels* desperately in love with him. And both he and she came to fancy, that he being married to his Dutchess while he was indeed of the Age of Consent, but not capable of a free one, the Marriage was null: so they lived together. *Burnet*, p. 630.

hear of his landing in *Scotland*, he would not fail to make a Deſcent into *England*. 1685.

He lands in Scotland.

Upon this poſitive Promiſe the Earl of *Argyle* ſet ſail with three ſmall Ships laden with Arms for Five Thouſand Men, having with him ſome *German* Officers and ſome Soldiers liſted in *Holland*. He arrived the 5th of *May* before *Orkney* in the North of *Scotland*, and ſent his Secretary on Shore to get Intelligence how the Country ſtood affected. But the Secretary being ſeized and brought to *Edinburgh*, the Earl found nothing was to be done in thoſe Parts. Wherefore he put to Sea again, and came and landed in the *Weſt-Highlands*, at a Place called *Dunſtafnage*, a ruinous Caſtle formerly his own. Here he left his Arms and Ammunition, and then publiſhed two Declarations mentioned by the King in his Speech to both Houſes. Whereupon the Parliament of *Scotland* now ſitting paſſed an *Act*, That all the Subjects of *Scotland* ſhould take the Oath of Allegiance anew, and aſſert the Royal Prerogatives whenever they ſhould be required, upon Pain of Baniſhment or Impriſonment.

He publiſhes two Declarations.

Act of the Scotch *Parliament.*

The King, as we have ſeen, had acquainted the Parliament of *England* but with one of *Argyle*'s Declarations: but however preſently after he told them of the other likewiſe. Whereupon both Houſes came to this Reſolution, That they would ſtand by and aſſiſt his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes, againſt the Earl of *Argyle* and his Adherents, and all other Traitors whatſoever. The King very graciouſly thanked them, and in his Anſwer to the Lords, renewed the Promiſes he had before made.

The Parliament of England *reſolve to ſtand by the King.*

The King confirms his Promiſes.

The Committee appointed by the Houſe of *Commons* for the Affairs of Religion, and which, no doubt, conſiſted of the moſt zealous *Churchmen*, conſidered the Earl of *Argyle*'s Invaſion in *Scotland* as an Outrage committed by all the *Presbyterians* of both Kingdoms. Though the Particulars of this Invaſion could not yet be known, except only that the Earl of *Argyle* was landed in *Scotland*, and had publiſhed two

Project of the Committee of Religion againſt the Presbyterians.

1685. Declarations, the Committee took occaſion to draw up two Votes, and offer them to the Houſe to be debated; namely, 1ſt, That it is the Opinion of the Committee that the Houſe will ſtand by his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes, in Defence of the Reformed Religion of the Church of *England*, as it is by Law eſtabliſhed. 2dly, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to deſire him to iſſue out a Proclamation to cauſe the *Penal* Laws to be put in Execution againſt all *Diſſenters* whatſoever. This laſt Vote was the pure Effect of the Committee's Prejudice, founded on the King's Promiſe that he would ſupport and preſerve the Church of *England* to the utmoſt of his Power. It is likely they imagined the King, though a *Papiſt*, was ready to proceed with Vigour againſt all the Enemies of that Church. But the previous Queſtion being, Whether the Queſtion ſhould then be put for the Houſe to agree with the Committee? It was carried in the Negative. It was conſidered, that it would not be agreeable to the King to cauſe the Penal Laws to be executed againſt all *Diſſenters*, and conſequently againſt thoſe of his own Religion. On the other Hand, it was not proper to confine the Order to the *Presbyterians* in particular, without ſaying any thing againſt the *Papiſts*. For theſe Reaſons the Houſe, after mature Deliberation, came to the following Reſolution, *Nemine Contradicente*, "That this Houſe doth acquieſce, and entirely rely, and reſt wholly ſatisfyed on his Majeſty's gracious *Word* and repeated Declaration to ſupport and defend the Religion of the *Church of England*, as it is now by Law eſtabliſhed, *which is dearer to us than our Lives*" This Vote clearly ſhows that though the *Commons* and *Tories* in general expreſſed a very great Zeal for the King's Intereſt, they had no Intention to countenance the *Romiſh* Religion, though ſome of their Enemies have been pleaſed to draw ſuch an Inference.

Purſuant

Pursuant to this Resolution, when the *Revenue-Bill* was ready, and the King come to the House of Peers to give the Royal Assent, the Speaker of the *Commons* made the following Speech: 1684.

" *Most Gracious Sovereign,*

The Speaker's Speech to the King.

" WE the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of " the House of *Commons* assembled in Par- " liament, do present to your Majesty the Revenue " you was pleased to demand at the Opening of this " Parliament, wherein we proceeded with as much " speed as the Forms of passing *Bills* of that Nature " would admit. We bring not with it any *Bill* for " the Preservation or Security of our Religion, " *which is dearer to us than our Lives.* In that we " acquiesce entirely, and rest wholly satisfied in your " Majesty's most gracious and sacred *Word*, repeated " *Declarations*, and *Assurances* to support and defend " the Religion of the Church of *England*, as it is " now by Law established. We present this Reve- " nue to your Majesty, without the Condition of " any additional, appropriating or tacking Clauses " whatsoever. And we humbly beseech your Ma- " jesty to accept of it, and along with it our hearty " Prayers, That God Almighty would bless you " with a long Life and happy Reign to enjoy it."

Upon the passing this *Bill*, his Majesty was pleased to make this following Speech to both Houses.

" *My* LORDS *and* GENTLEMEN,

" I Thank you heartily for the *Bill* you have " presented me this Day; and I assure you, the " Readiness and Chearfulness that hath attended the " Dispatch of it, is as acceptable to me as the *Bill* " itself. After so happy a Beginning, you may be- " lieve I would not call upon you unnecessarily for " an *extraordinary Supply:* But when I tell you, that

" the

1685. "the Stores of the Navy and Ordnance are extreamly exhauſted; that the Anticipations upon ſeveral Branches of the Revenue are great and burthenſome; that the Debts of the King my Brother, to his Servants and Family, are ſuch as deſerve Compaſſion; that the Rebellion in *Scotland*, without putting more Weight upon it than it really deſerves, muſt oblige me to conſiderable Expence extraordinary: I am ſure ſuch Conſiderations will move you to give me an Aid to provide for thoſe things, wherein the Security, the Eaſe and Happineſs of my Government are ſo much concerned. But above all, I muſt recommend to you the Care of the Navy, the Strength and Glory of the Nation, That you would put it into ſuch a Condition, *as may make us conſidered and reſpected Abroad.* I cannot expreſs my Concern upon this Occaſion more ſuitable to my own Thoughts of it, than by aſſuring you I have a true *Engliſh Heart*, as jealous of the Honour of the Nation as you can be; and I pleaſe my ſelf with the Hopes, that by God's Bleſſing and your Aſſiſtance, I may carry its Reputation yet higher in the World than ever it has been in the Time of my Anceſtors. And as I will not call upon you for Supplies, but when they are of publick Uſe and Advantage, ſo I promiſe you, that what you give me upon ſuch Occaſions ſhall be managed with good Husbandry; and I will take care it ſhall be employed to the Uſes for which I ask them."

Remark on this Speech

If ever there was Occaſion to repeat his Promiſes with reſpect to Religion and the Nation's Liberties, it was doubtleſs immediately after receiving from the Houſe of *Commons* ſo real a Token of their Zeal, founded, as the Speaker ſaid, upon their Confidence in the King's Word. But it was by no means proper for the King to renew a Promiſe he did not intend to perform. After this ſame Promiſe had procured him what he wanted, it was entirely forgot; and if it was ſome-

ſometimes mentioned among the King's Adherents, it was only to palliate the Violation of it, as will be ſeen hereafter. 1685.

The very Moment the King thanked the *Commons* for their noble Preſent, they had occaſion to perceive their Errour in not appointing the Uſes ſuch an immenſe Revenue as they had granted ſhould be put to. It manifeſtly appeared by the King's Speech, that he did not mean to employ this Revenue but in the uſual Charge of the Government, ſince at that very time he asked them for a great and extraordinary Supply for all the other Things which he reckoned up, and even for the Maintenance of the Navy, as if his Revenue had been too inconſiderable to ſupply his Occaſions.

In ſhort, it muſt needs appear ſtrange that *James*, for having gained one Victory at Sea, ſhould affect to exalt himſelf above all his Predeceſſors. This was a Piece of Vanity which did not ſeem to become him at all. Beſides, we ſhall ſee hereafter, that nothing was farther from his Thoughts than the Deſign of promoting the Honour and Reputation of the *Engliſh* Nation. Nevertheleſs, the *Commons* highly pleaſed with the King's Speech, granted him an additional Duty of Exciſe upon *Wines* and *Vinegar*, and a further Impoſition upon *Sugar* and *Tobacco*.

The Earl of Argyle's *Proceedings.*

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *England*, the Earl of *Argyle* was endeavouring to ſtrengthen himſelf in *Scotland*, iſſuing out Declarations, and ſending Letters upon Letters to his Relations and Friends. But though he was in his own County of *Argyle*, and the Inhabitants had been formerly his Vaſſals, all he could do was to draw together Two or Three Thouſand Men. With this little Army he croſſed over and landed in the Iſle of *Bute*. But within a few Days, having notice that a great Number of Forces, under the Command of the Duke of *Gordon*, the Marqueſs of *Athol*, the Earl of *Arran* and others, were advancing towards him from ſeveral Parts in order to ſurround him, he was forced to ſhift from Iſland to Iſland to

1685. avoid them. This he could eaſily do by the Help of his three Ships and ſeveral ſmall Boats, till he heard that Three Men of War and ſome Frigates would ſoon come and attack him. Then he marched into *Argyleſhire* towards *Inverary*, ordering his Veſſels and Boats to come and join him. But they were hindered by contrary Winds from doing it ſoon enough. So, finding himſelf hemmed in on all Sides, and conſidering that few came to join with him, and that his Troops began to deſert, he gave out that he intended to go and attack the Marqueſs of *Athol* who was at *Inverary*. But at the ſame time he ordered the old Caſtle of *Ellengrog* to be fortified in the beſt Manner that was poſſible, and leaving his Cannon there, with a Garriſon of One Hundred and Eighty Men, marched into *Dumbartonſhire*. The ſame Day he began his March, the King's Ships came up to the Caſtle with intent to batter it, but the Caſtle ſurrendred upon the Firing of the firſt Gun. By which the Earl loſt Five Thouſand Arms, Five Hundred Barrels of Powder, and all his Cannon, beſides his three Ships which were taken at the ſame time. This Loſs ſo diſheartned the Earl of *Argyle*, as well as his Officers, that from that Moment they thought only how to get away. But as after the Loſs of their Ships there was no way to fly out of *Scotland*, they retired from Place to Place with all poſſible Speed, even to the Swimming of Rivers. But they were ſo hotly purſued, that they were forced at length to diſperſe into ſmall Parties, in order to ſave ſome in caſe the reſt ſhould have the Misfortune to be overtaken. At laſt, to make ſhort of the Matter, the Earl of *Argyle* having received a Wound in his Head, was obliged to quit his Horſe, and run into the Water up to his Neck to ſave himſelf. In this Poſture he was taken by a Countryman, who threatned to knock him down if he would not yield *. This happened

He ſuſtains a great Loſs.

He is taken

* The Earl preſented a Piſtol to the Countryman but it miſſed fire. Whereupon the other gave him a Blow on the Head, which ſo ſtunned him that he fell.

happened on the 17th of *June*, Twenty-eight Days after his firſt landing in *Scotland*. He was not ſuffered to languiſh long. For being brought to *Edinburgh* in an ignominious Manner, his Head was cut off in a few Days and placed on the *Toll-Booth* of the City *. *Rumbold*, one of his Friends and Confidents, was likewiſe taken and executed with ſeveral others *1. Thus the King, without having contributed ſcarce any thing to it, ſaw himſelf delivered from the Danger which threatned him from the Side of *Scotland*. 1685. *and beheaded.*

The Duke of *Monmouth*, purſuant to his Promiſe to the Earl of *Argyle*, ſailed out of the *Texel* the 24th of *May* with a ſmall Man of War of thirty Guns and two other Veſſels. He met with ſuch contrary Winds that he was Nineteen Days at Sea, though without meeting any of the King's Ships which waited in *the Channel* to intercept him, the *The Duke of* Monmouth *ſails from* Holland.

* Purſuant to the Sentence paſt three Years before, which made his Death to be looked on as no better than Murder. He juſtified all he had done, for he ſaid, he was unjuſtly attainted: and that had diſſolved his Allegiance. He complained of the Duke of *Monmouth* much, for delaying his Coming ſo long after him, and for aſſuming the Name of King, both which he ſaid was contrary to their Agreement at parting. *Burnet*, p. 622.

*1 *Ailoffe* and *Rumbold* were taken, who though *Engliſhmen*, had choſe rather to follow *Argyle* than *Monmouth*. *Rumbold* was the Perſon that dwelt in *Rye Houſe*, where it was pretended the Plot was laid for murdering the late and preſent King. He denied the Truth of that Conſpiracy. He owned that he had heard many Propoſitions at *Weſt*'s Chambers about killing the two Brothers, and upon that he had ſaid, it could have been eaſily executed near his Houſe; upon which ſome Diſcourſe had followed how it might have been managed. But he ſaid, it was only Talk, and that nothing was laid or ſo much as reſolved on. He ſaid he was for kingly Government, but did not believe that God had made the greater Part of Mankind with Saddles on their Backs, and Bridles in their Mouths, and ſome few booted and ſpurred to ride the Reſt. When *Ailoffe* was brought to *London* and examined by the King, he refuſed to diſcover any thing. Whereupon the King ſaid, Mr. *Ailoffe*, you know it is in my Power to pardon you, therefore ſay that which may deſerve it. He anſwered, as it is ſaid, *Though it is in your Power, it is not in your Nature to pardon.* He was Nephew by Marriage to the old Earl of *Clarendon*. But that could not ſave him. *Burnet*.

1685. King having had so early notice of his Design, that *Skelton*, his Majesty's Envoy at the *Hague*, had obtained an Order from the *States* to arrest him. For which reason the Duke went on board sooner than he intended. At last, he landed the 11th of *June* with about Eighty Followers in the *West* of *England* at *Lyme*, and the same Day came into the Town, where he was received without Opposition. Here he published a *Declaration* against the King. As this Declaration is well known, I shall content my self with relating the most material Things in it. *

Lands at Lyme.

His Declaration. In the Preface he said, " That Government was " originally instituted by God, and this or that Form " of it chosen and submitted to by Men, for the " Happiness and Security of the Governed, and " not for the private Interest and personal Great- " ness of those that rule. That the Government of " *England* was, above all others, happy in its pri- " mitive Form, whereby the Prerogatives of the " Crown and the Privileges of the Subjects were so " far from justling one another, that the People's " Rights tended to render the King Great, and the " Prince's Prerogatives were in order to the Subjects " Protection and Safety. But that all the Bounda- " ries of the Government had of late been broken, " and nothing left unattempted for turning the limited " Monarchy into an absolute Tyranny."

Then the Duke proceeded to impute to the King, all the Mischiefs in the Reign of *Charles* II, as, " the " Burning of *London*, the Alliance with *France*, the " two Wars with *Holland*, the *Popish* Plot, *Godfrey*'s " Murder, the *Protestant-Plot*, the suborning Wit- " nesses to swear the most zealous Patricts out of " their Lives, the hiring of Villains to assassinate the Earl

* It was entitled, *The Declaration of* James *Duke of* Monmouth, *and the Noblemen, Gentlemen and others, now in Arms for the Defence and Vindication of the Protestant Religion and the Laws, Rights and Privileges of* England. It was long, (says *Burnet*) and ill penned: full of black and dull Malice, it was plainly *Ferguson*'s Stile, which was both long and fulsome, *p.* 641.

" Earl of *Eſſex*, and cauſing others to be clandeſ- 1685.
" tinely cut off, the frequent Prorogations and Diſ-
" ſolutions of the Parliaments."

He came next to what the Duke of *York* had done ſince he aſſumed the Title of King, as " the Avow-
" ing himſelf of the *Romiſh* Religion; his Publiſh-
" ing two Proclamations, one whereof required the
" collecting of the *Cuſtoms*, and the other continued
" that Part of the *Exciſe* which was to expire at the
" King's Death; his Advancing thoſe to the *Bench*
" that were the Scandal of the *Bar*, and Conſti-
" tuting thoſe very Men to declare the Laws, who
" were branded in Parliament for perverting them;
" his Cauſing *Juries* to be packed, falſe Returns to
" be made, and new illegal Charters to be granted,
" in order to have a Parliament that ſhould, in-
" ſtead of preſerving the People's Liberties, eſta-
" bliſh his Arbitrarineſs, and confirm the Subjects
" Thraldom" He declared moreover, " That he
" did not take up Arms to revenge any perſonal In-
" juries, but ſolely for vindicating his Country's Re-
" ligion and Laws". He did not fail however to affirm, " That his Mother was lawful Wife of
" *Charles* II". In concluſion, he accuſed the King of poiſoning the late King his Brother. The reſt of the Declarations contained the uſual Proteſtations and Invitations in Papers of this Nature.

Though the Facts contained in this Declaration cannot be looked upon as Proofs that the King was guilty of what the Duke of *Monmouth* laid to his Charge, they may ſerve however for proof that the King from that time was accuſed of them, at leaſt by ſome Men, and that theſe Accuſations were not invented after his Fall.

Act of Attainder againſt Monmouth.

The King having communicated to both Houſes the Duke of *Monmouth*'s landing at *Lyme*, they preſented an Addreſs to him, aſſuring him of their Zeal and Aſſiſtance, and immediately after the *Commons* went upon a *Bill of Attainder* againſt the Duke of *Monmouth*. At the ſame time, they deſired his Ma-

1685. jesty to issue out a Proclamation, promising a Reward of Five Thousand Pounds to any that should bring in the Duke dead or alive. The *Bill of Attainder* was dispatched by the *Commons* in the Space of two Days, and in one Day by the Lords.

Acts passed The 16th of *June* the King came to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent both to this *Bill* and the Money-Bills before-mentioned. Two Days after he sent a Message to the *Commons* to acquaint them, that he judged it necessary for the Members to be present in their respective Counties, and therefore designed there should be an Adjournment in a few Days; desiring there might be a good Fund for a present Sum of Money to answer the immediate Charge his Majesty must be at on account of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion in the *West*. Upon this Message the *Commons* forthwith voted a Supply of Four Hundred Thousand Pounds for the King's present extraordinary Occasions.

The King demands Money.

Acts passed The two Houses made such haste to answer the King's Desires, that on the 27th of *June* there were twelve *Bills* ready, most of them for the King's Benefit; and on the 2d of *July* Four more, besides private *Bills*. That Day the Parliament was adjourned to the 4th of *August*. But the Lord-Keeper gave notice, that the King did not intend there should be a Session then, but that the Members about *London* should meet and adjourn themselves as there should be Occasion till Winter, or till the King should appoint the Time by Proclamation. Thus ended the first Session of this Parliament, having done in six Weeks what no other ever did in many Months *.

The Duke of Monmouth *advances.* The Duke of *Monmouth*'s Followers, who were not above Eighty in Number when he landed at *Lyme*, increased to two Thousand in three or four Days. This made him hope they would continually increase as he advanced into the Country. Wherefore,

* The Ending of this Session, says *Burnet*, was no small Happiness to the Nation, such a Body of Men being dismissed with doing so little Hurt, *p.* 641.

fore, he ſet out for *Lyme* the 15th of *June*, and came the ſame Day to *Axminſter*. He thereby prevented the Duke of *Albemarle*, who with Four Thouſand of the Militia intended to go thither in order to block him up in *Lyme*. The Duke of *Monmouth* being come to *Axminſter*, diſpoſed his Troops in ſuch manner, that *Albemarle*, inſtead of attacking him, thought proper to retreat, perceiving his *Militia*-Men had no Inclination to do their Duty. *Albemarle*'s Retreat left the way open to the Duke of *Monmouth* to march on to *Taunton*, where he arrived the 18th, and was received with loud Acclamations. His Army being conſiderably increaſed during a five or ſix Days Stay at *Taunton*, he imagined that Matters were in a fair way, and that all the Country would join with him. In this Expectation he called a Council, wherein it was reſolved he ſhould aſſume the Title of *King*. He had already inſinuated in his Declaration that he was lawful Son of *Charles* II, and thereby given to underſtand that he pretended to the Crown. But, in all likelihood, he would not have been ſo haſty to make this Step, had not thoſe about him repreſented to him, that appearing in Arms againſt a King actually on the Throne, he muſt needs be accounted a Rebel as long as that King's Right ſhould be acknowledged: That therefore, neither the Nobility nor People could have any Pretence to join with him; whereas by taking upon him the Royal Title, he would have the ſame Advantage that *James* had with regard to Right. Probably, there was no Occaſion to uſe many more Arguments to prevail with him. What he had hinted in his Declaration plainly ſhows that this was the End he propoſed to himſelf. The only Thing then was to conſult about the moſt proper Seaſon to make this Step. In ſhort, purſuant to the Counſel of thoſe he adviſed with, he was proclaimed *King* at *Taunton* the 20th of *June* by the Name of *James* II.

1685.

He comes to Taunton.

He takes the Title of King.

He began his pretended Reign with iſſuing out three Proclamations. By the firſt, he promiſed the Sum of Five Thouſand Pounds to any that ſhould

He publiſhes three Proclamations.

1685. bring the Duke of *York* dead or alive. By the ſecond, he declared the Parliament now ſitting to be a ſeditious Aſſembly, and gave Power to any that would lay hold of the Members as Rebels and Traitors, if they did not ſeparate before the End of *June*. The third was to declare the Duke of *Albemarle* a Traytor, who lay within ſix Miles of *Taunton* with his Militia-Men to attack him, if he found Opportunity.

He marches to Bridgewater,

The 21ſt of *June* the Duke began his March and came to *Bridgewater*. He was received there as at *Taunton*, eſpecially as his Army was now Five Thouſand ſtrong, and might have been more numerous, had he been able to arm thoſe that offered to ſerve him. Beſides Arms, he wanted good Officers, ſcarce any but the meaneſt of the People having joined him. After he had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed in *Bridgewater*, and his three Proclamations to be read, he marched on for *Briſtol*, where the Inhabitants were inclined to receive him, had they not been awed by the Duke of *Beaufort* their Governour. He advanced however within three Miles of the City, at the Inſtance of ſome *Briſtol* Men, who aſſured him that he would be received in ſpite of the Governour and the Garriſon. But in the mean while, he had notice that the King's Forces were advancing, which made him alter his Reſolution of trying *Briſtol* to that of retreating to *Bridgewater*. He marched therefore towards *Bath*, and after ſummoning that City to ſurrender, in vain, he went and beat up one of the King's Quarters, where lay a Troop of Horſe which were entirely defeated *. From thence he advanced to *Frome*, where he met with a chearful Reception. But unlickily for him, the King's Party had found means a few Days before to diſarm all the Inhabitants, ſo that he was diſappointed, his chief Aim being to ſeize theſe Arms for ſuch of his Men as wanted them. At *Frome* he heard of the Earl of *Argyle*'s Defeat, which threw him

and is proclaimed there.

He marches towards Briſtol.

Hears of the Advance of the King's Arms, and retreats to Bridgewater.

He receives the News of Argyle's *Defeat.*

* The Duke of *Grafton* narrowly eſcaped with his Life.

him into great Conſternation. However, he reſolved to purſue his March, and return back to *Bridgewater*. 1685.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in the *Weſt*, the King was preparing at *London* with all poſſible Diligence, for his Defence againſt an Enemy who could not but make him extremely uneaſy. But he had only a few regular Troops, and thoſe diſperſed in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom. This obliged him to raiſe the *Militia*, particularly in the *weſtern* Counties, till the Arrival of the ſix *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments which were to come from *Holland*. On this Occaſion the Prince of *Orange* his Son-in-law ſent over Monſieur *Bentinck* with an Offer of his Perſon to come and head his Army: but the King did not think proper to accept of the ſame. Mean while, as he had no great Confidence in the *Militia*, he ſent down his Guards and all the regular Troops he could draw together, and formed a little Army of Two Thouſand Foot, and Seven Hundred Horſe and Dragoons. He gave the Command to the Earl of *Feverſham*, Brother of the Marſhals *Duras* and *Lorge*, and Nephew to the late Mr. *Turenne*. With this handful of Troops, the Earl of *Feverſham* encamped at a Place called *Sedgemore* near *Bridgwater*, whilſt ſeveral Parties of the *Militia* of the neighbouring Counties lay about him under the Command of the Dukes of *Beaufort*, *Somerſet*, *Albemarle*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*.

The King makes ready.

The Prince of Orange *offers to head the Army; but is refuſed.*

Fever-ſham *made General.*

The Duke of *Monmouth* who was now come to *Bridgewater* thinking himſelf in effect beſieged, and conſidering that the King's Forces daily increaſed, whilſt his own began to deſert, held a Council of War, wherein it was reſolved to march in the Night, and ſurprize the Earl of *Feverſham*, who was encamped that Day at *Sedgemore*, and according to the Report of the Spies, little expecting to be attacked. Purſuant to this Reſolution the Duke began his March about Eleven at Night with profound Silence, and within two Hours fell in with *Dunbarton*'s Regiment, which, lying in an advanced Poſt, gave the Alarm to the whole Army, and by that they had

The Duke of Mon-mouth *attacks the King's Army.*

1685. time to put themselves in Order of Battle, to receive their Enemies. The Particulars of the Fight which ensued about an Hour after are not well known. Thus much is certain, that the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Horse commanded by the Lord *Grey* behaved very ill, though superiour to the King's in Number, and fled upon the first Charge. The Duke of *Monmouth*, at the Head of the Foot, fought a considerable while with a great deal of Bravery. But being deserted by the Horse, his Army was at last forced to take to their Heels. The Loss of this Battle was ascribed to the little Experience or Cowardice of the Lord *Grey*, who commanded the Horse, aud was even suspected of Treachery. What confirmed this Suspicion was, that being made Prisoner he readily obtained the King's Pardon. It is said moreover, that when he had so ill performed his Duty, instead of endeavouring to rally the Horse, he rode up to the Duke of *Monmouth* and told him, *all was lost*, and it was more *than time to shift for himself.*

He is defeated.

This Battle was fought on the 6th of *July* at break of Day. There were slain on the Duke of *Monmouth's* Side Three Hundred Men on the Spot, a Thousand in the Pursuit, and as many taken Prisoners. The Duke having retired out of the Fight, could hardly get together Fifty Horse to secure his Retreat. But this Troop being quickly dispersed, he was obliged to quit his Horse and run away on Foot, being accompanied only with a *German* Count, whom he had brought with him from *Holland.* The Lord *Grey* was taken next Day, and the Day after the Duke of *Monmouth* was found in a Ditch covered with Fern, with some green Pease in his Pocket. Probably he had eaten nothing else for two Days. He was brought to the Lord *Lumley*, who sent him forthwith to *London.*

He is taken and sent up to London.

No sooner was the Duke taken, but he gave himself over for lost, and yet he retained some hopes that the King would be moved to Pity by his Submission and Repentance, and that the Queen *Dowager*

He writes to the King,

would interceed for him. In this Belief he wrote to the King for Pardon in the moſt ſubmiſſive Terms he could deviſe, and which he thought moſt apt to move Compaſſion. He writ likewiſe to the Queen *Dowager*, who really interceded for him, and prevailed with the King to ſee the unfortunate Duke. She made no doubt that ſince the King had conſented to ſee him, he intended to pardon him: but ſhe was miſtaken. The Duke being brought to the King's Preſence, threw himſelf at his Feet, and begged his Life in a very ſubmiſſive or rather abject Manner. The King, after asking him ſome Queſtions, made him ſign a Declaration, whereby he owned that the King his Father aſſured him, he was never married to his Mother. This done, the King told him, his Crime was of too great Conſequence to be forgiven, and he therefore muſt prepare to die. The Queen, who was preſent, is ſaid to have inſulted over his Misfortune in an unmerciful Manner. The Duke ſeeing no hopes left, roſe up from the King's Feet with an Air of Bravery, which would have become him better when he firſt came into his Preſence, and was carried to the *Tower* to prepare for Death. The King's and Queen's Behaviour on this Occaſion was thought very ſtrange, Princes not being uſed to admit Criminals to their Preſence, but when they deſign to grant them a Pardon. I do not find in any Hiſtorian, that the Duke was proceeded againſt in the uſual Forms. So it is likely he was condemned only by the King alone.

1685.

who conſents to ſee him.

The Duke begs his Pardon.

The King denies it.

Till his Execution the King ordered *Turner* Biſhop of *Ely* to attend him, and prepare him to die. The Duke writ once more to the King for Pardon, or at leaſt for a longer Time, and deſired him to ſend him Dr. *Tenniſon* * or any other *Divine*. The King denied the two firſt Articles of his Requeſt, and appointed *Ken* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* to go and acquaint him that he muſt die the next Morning.

The

* Afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

1685. *He is prepared for Death.* The following Day, *July* the 15th, Dr. *Teniſon* and Dr. *Hooper* were brought to Town, and attended him till the laſt Hour of his Life. By their Exhortations they prevailed with him to give it under his Hand, that the King his Father was never married to his Mother. He confeſſed alſo, that his Invaſion was a Sin, but would never own it to be a Rebellion. There was another Point about which the two *Divines* could not receive from him any Satisfaction. And that was his being with the Lady *Herriot Wentworth*, though he had a Dutcheſs of his own, and his pretending to be lawfully married to her before God, alledging, that his firſt Marriage was null, as being too young when he gave his Conſent. All the Pains the two Doctors took to convince him of the Falſehood of this Opinion were fruitleſs, nay he choſe rather to deprive himſelf of *the Communion*, than own his Engagements with that Lady to be unlawful.

He is executed. When he was on the *Scaffold*, he declared that he died a *Proteſtant* of the Church of *England*. But the *Divines* * ſtopped him, and ſaid that to be a Member of the Church of *England* he muſt believe the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance*. He anſwered, he could not help it, but that he did not believe it, that however he approved the Doctrine of the Church in all other things. At laſt he laid his Head on the Block, which was not ſevered from his Body until the fifth Stroke. Thus died the Duke of *Monmouth*, who had long been the People's Idol, and whom *James* always conſidered as a very formidable Rival. *Charles* II died very ſeaſonably to free the Duke his Brother from the Uneaſineſs created him by this Competitor. But though *James* had mounted the Throne, the Duke of *Monmouth* made him run the Riſque of loſing his Crown. Neither the Victory at *Sedgemore* nor *Argyle*'s Defeat in *Scotland*, could be aſcribed to the Valour or Conduct of the King, but to pure Chance, or rather to the Direction of Providence, which

* *Turner* and *Ken*.

which for the Welfare of *England*, was pleaſed to uſe properer Means to be more plainly diſtinguiſhed. 1685.

The King being thus rid of his greateſt Fears, gave himſelf over entirely to the Paſſion of Revenge againſt thoſe who directly or indirectly had aſſiſted the Duke of *Monmouth*. To that End, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Jefferies*, with four other Judges Aſſiſtants, was ſent into the *Weſt* with a Special Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to try thoſe that had been in the late Rebellion; and Major General *Kirk* was ordered to attend him with a Body of Troops to keep the People in Awe. It was not poſſible for the King to ſend in the whole Kingdom two Men more deſtitute of Religion, Honour and Humanity. They were two cruel and mercileſs Tygers that delighted only in Blood. I ſhall relate here but ſome few of their barbarous Actions: For a particular Account of all their Proceedings would lead me too far. *The King takes a cruel Revenge on his Enemies. Jefferies' and Kirk ſent into the Weſt.*

At *Wincheſter*, the Widow of the Lord *Liſle*, * one of King *Charles* I, his Judges, was brought before him to be tried. Her Crime was the harbouring and concealing Mr. *Hicks* a *Presbyterian* Miniſter of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Party, though his Name was in no Proclamation, and one *Nelthorp* who was a Stranger to her. The *Jury* not ſatisfied with the Evidence, brought her in *Not guilty*. But *Jefferies* in great Fury, ſent them out again. They found her *Not guilty* three times: But *Jefferies* threatening them with an Attaint of *Jury*, ſhe was brought in *Guilty*, and executed accordingly, being above ſeventy Years old. *1 *Barbarous Proceedings of Jefferies.*

At *Dorcheſter*, *Jefferies*, to ſhorten his Work, told thirty Priſoners that if they expected any Favour they ſhould plead *Guilty*. But as they did not care to take that Courſe, he condemned thirty-nine, who were immediately executed.

In

* He was one of *Cromwell*'s Lords, and Commiſſioner of the Great Seal.

*1 All the Favour the King would grant her, was to change her Sentence from Burning to Beheading.

1685. In another Place, two Hundred Persons being indicted, *Jefferies* positively promised a Pardon to such as should plead *Guilty*, and of the two Hundred, he ordered Four score to be hanged.

In fine, to shut up such a Scene of Horrour, it suffices to say in a Word, that *Jefferies* condemned five Hundred Persons, whereof two Hundred and thirty were executed, according to the lowest Computation, * and their Quarters set up in the Highways. *Jefferies* himself gloried in this Barbarity, and boasted that he had hanged more then than all the Judges of *England* since *William the Conqueror*. And yet he would have carried his Cruelty farther, had not many purchased his Favour with their Estates. One Mr. *Prideaux* *1 alone, gave him fourteen thousand Pounds to save his Life. As for those that had not Money enough to come up to his Price, they were either hanged, or cruelly whipped, or sold for Slaves to the *American* Plantations.

And of Kirk. *Kirk* was not behind *Jefferies* either in Cruelty or Insolence. Immediately after the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Defeat, being sent to *Taunton*, he caused nineteen Persons, by his own Authority, without any Trial or Process, and without suffering their Wives or Children to speak with them, to be hanged with Pipes playing, Drums beating and Trumpets sounding. This no doubt made him worthy to be an Assistant to *Jefferies*.

In the same Town of *Taunton*, *Kirk* having invited his Officers to Dinner, ordered thirty condemned Persons to be hanged within Sight of the Place where they sate at Dinner, namely, ten in a Health to the King, ten in a Health to the Queen, and ten in a Health to *Jefferies*. But an Action of his in another Town is beyond all Imagination. A young Girl coming and throwing herself at his Feet to beg her Father's Life, he drew her in to prostitute herself

* *Burnet* says above six hundred were hanged, p. 648.

*1 Of *Ford Abbey* in *Somersetshire*.

ſelf to him, with the Promiſe of granting her Requeſt. But having ſatisfied his brutal Luſt, he was ſo inhuman as to lead the Girl to the Window, and ſhow her her Father hanging on the Sign Poſt. This ſad Spectacle had ſuch an Effect upon the poor Girl, that ſhe fell diſtracted. 1685.

Father *Orleans*, who writ from the Mouth of *James* II, not being able to deny theſe barbarous Executions, endeavours to excuſe them two Ways. He ſays in the firſt Place, that the King was informed of them too late to prevent them, and that the great Services performed by *Jefferies* and *Kirk* prevailed with him to ſpare them. * He ſays in the next Place, that the King made amends for thoſe Injuſtices, as far as lay in his Power, by the general Pardon he granted afterwards. But it is eaſy to ſee how empty theſe Excuſes are, if it is conſidered, that when *Kirk* was charged with theſe Cruelties, he anſwered that *Jefferies* and himſelf acted far ſhort of the King's Inſtructions. Again, the King was ſo little diſpleaſed with *Jefferies*'s Conduct, that at his Deſire he made him Lord Chancellor, the Lord Keeper *North* dying whilſt the Chief Juſtice was exerciſing his Cruelties in the *Weſt*. As for the General Pardon, it was not publiſhed till ſeveral Months after all theſe Executions were over, and no more were found *Guilty*. The Court muſt have believed that there were but few could have the Benefit of the Pardon, ſince a Company of ten or a dozen Girls were inſerted in it by Name, who with Chaplets of Flowers on their Heads, had preſented a *Bible* to the Duke of *Monmouth* at his Entry into *Taunton*. *Father* Orleans *refuted.*

It

* Here it is evident *Rapin* ſaw not *Burnet*, who aſſures us, that the King had a particular Account of all *Jefferies*'s Proceedings writ to him every Day. And he took Pleaſure to relate them in the Drawing Room to Foreign Miniſters, and at his Table, calling it *Jefferies's Campaign*. *Dykfield* the States Ambaſſadour told *Burnet*, that the King talked ſo often of theſe Things in his Hearing, that he wondered to ſee him break out into thoſe Indecencies. p. 648.

1685. *Several Executions in London.* *Of* Elizabeth Gaunt.

It was not only in the *western* Counties that the King gave ſenſible Proofs of his revengeful Temper. The City of *London* was Witneſs alſo of ſeveral Executions in the Month of *October*, and among others, of *Elizabeth Gaunt*, who was publickly burnt for harbouring one of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Adherents. * Six Men were hanged at *Tyburn* as Traitors for Crimes of the like Nature, and what is more ſtrange without any previous Tryal.

Of Alderman Corniſh.

But the Execution that made moſt Noiſe, was that of *Alderman Corniſh*. This Man, who was *Sheriff* of *London*, when the Diſcovery of the *Popiſh Plot* was in Hand, had been very active on that Occaſion, which was now grown an unpardonable Crime in the preſent Reign. *Corniſh*, whoſe Name had been hardly mentioned amongſt thoſe who were concerned in the *Rye Plot*, not ſuſpecting any thing, and following his Profeſſion, was ſeized on the 13th of *October*, and hurried to *Newgate* without being allowed the Uſe of Pen, Ink and Paper. The next *Saturday* Evening he had Notice that he was indicted of High-Treaſon, and that his Tryal was to be on *Monday* Morning. On the Morrow, he ſent a Petition to the King for a longer Time, alledging that he did not ſo much as know wherein conſiſted the Treaſon he was accuſed of. The King referred his Petition to the Judges, who abſolutely denied his Requeſt. He was charged with conſpiring againſt King *Charles* II, with the Lord *Ruſſel*, and the reſt who had been executed for that Affair, and condemned upon the Evidence of the ſame Witneſſes, though he made appear in their Depoſitions, manifeſt Contradictions and glaring Improbabilities. But it was reſolved to revenge the Death of thoſe who ſuffered on

*1 The Villain upon hearing that the King would ſooner pardon the Rebels than thoſe that harboured them, by an unheard-of Baſeneſs, went and delivered himſelf and accuſed her that harboured him, while ſhe was looking for an Opportunity of ſending him out of the Kingdom. Upon the Evidence of this infamous Witneſs, the Judge charged the Jury to find her Guilty. *Burnet* 649.

on Account of the *Popiſh Plot*, upon ſuch as had been moſt active againſt the *Papiſts*. *Corniſh* was executed as a Traitor, the 21ſt of *October*. But the Parliament in the Year 1688, reverſed the Sentence, as well as thoſe of ſome others, who had unjuſtly ſuffered in the Beginning of this Reign. 1685

Of Bateman *the Surgeon.*

The laſt that died for the *Proteſtant Plot* was *Charles Bateman*, a noted Surgeon, who was accuſed of holding ſeveral ſeditious Diſcourſes at that Time againſt the Government. But many People believed his chief Crime conſiſted in his Compaſſion to *Titus Oates*, having conſtantly attended him after his cruel Scourgings, and uſed all his Skill to cure his Wounds. This Man, who did not expect to be accuſed, ran diſtracted during his Impriſonment, and the Court was ſo well ſatisfied of it, that his Son was permitted to make his Defence for him. But his Condition did not prevent his being condemned and executed.

The King's flouriſhing Condition.

The King was then in a flouriſhing State. He was rid of his two greateſt Enemies, and by the Revenge he had taken upon thoſe that had offended him as well in his own, as in his Brother's Reign, had ſtruck ſuch a Terrour over the whole Kingdom, that there was not a Man that dared ſo much as to think of reſiſting him. The *Whigs* were entirely humbled, the *Tories* were triumphant, and the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance* was openly preached, as an eſſential Article of the Faith of the Church of *England*. The King had a Parliament which ſought only to give him Marks of their Zeal; and were ever ready to ſupply him with Money for all extraordinary Occaſions, without obliging him to meddle with his Revenue. The Army he had on Foot helped very much to make him feared, and to keep the People in awe. *Scotland* was intirely ſubdued, and the Managers of the Affairs of that Kingdom ſeemed to mind nothing but the Enlarging of the Prerogative Royal. As for *Ireland*, we ſhall ſee preſently that he had not ſtayed till now to put that Kingdom in the Poſture he deſired. In fine, the Prin-

1685. ces of *Europe* considering him as a Monarch who was able to incline the Balance to which Side he pleased, made, as I may say, their Court to him, either to gain him, or at least to hinder him from turning against them.

He forms new Projects.

What therefore did *James* II want to render his Happiness complete? One thing, which touched him more than all the rest, but which he could not hope to obtain, without hazarding all his other Advantages. This was, to make all his Subjects *Papists*, or at least to compel them to pretend to be so. But this was a Thing not easy to be brought about, by Reason of the great Superiority of the Number of the *Protestants* in *England* and *Scotland*. Nevertheless he attempted it, imagining that the Opportunity was too favourable to be neglected. But as he used at first very palpable Artifices, which were obvious to all the World, he was obliged to support them with Force, and in order to that, to set himself above the Laws. These two Projects of establishing an arbitrary Government, and destroying the *Protestant* Religion, were not first set on Foot at this Time. Every Body knew they had been in Hand a good while. But the *English* did not imagine, that the King would have violated his repeated Promises to support and defend the Religion established by Law. Nay, some were so monstrous blind, as to think it impossible for the King to break his Word. But they were too sensible of their Errour afterwards. All the rest of this Reign concerns only the Means made use of by the King to compass his Designs, and the Measures taken by the *English* at last to stop his Career. I must begin with speaking of the first of these Points, before I proceed to the second.

Reasons which should have withheld the King from following them.

Many Things should have diverted the King from forming such a Project. First, the Difficulty of executing it, which might have been easily foreseen. For if it is considered, that the *Papists* of *England* are not the thousandth Part of the Nation, it must needs be thought strange, should it be attempted with

with this thouſandth Part to compel the reſt to change their Religion. I ſay compel, for what Likelihood is there that without Compulſion, a whole Nation can be prevailed with to quit their Religion and embrace another, for which they have ever had the utmoſt Abhorrence? It will perhaps be ſaid, that *James* had almoſt brought it about, and that, had it not been for a foreign Aid, the *Engliſh* would have been forced to ſubmit to his *Yoke*. But the Inconſiderableneſs of this ſame Aid, demonſtrates that he was yet very far from attaining his Ends. 1685.

Secondly, As to the abſolute Power, which muſt have been eſtabliſhed, in order to introduce a Religion contrary to that of the whole Kingdom, he was much miſtaken to ſuppoſe that *France* would lend him a powerful Aid to that End. For it was not the Intereſt of *Lewis* XIV, to render the King of *England* abſolute, but only to ſtir up Commotions in that Kingdom, which would pave the Way to the Execution of his ambitious Deſigns, by keeping *England* employed at Home.

Thirdly, If the Examples of *Edward* II, and *Richard* II, as too remote from his Time, had no Effect upon him, he ſhould however have conſidered, that if the King his Father, who for endeavouring to ſtretch the Prerogative Royal, and for being only ſuſpected of intending to introduce *Popery*, loſt his Head on the Scaffold. We have ſeen that King *Charles* I, in the Time of his Afflictions, writ to the Prince his eldeſt Son to take Warning by him, not to graſp at more Power than belonged to him. Moreover, when he was brought on the Scaffold, he took off his *George* and gave it to Dr. *Juxon*, ſaying, *Remember*. The Council of State being willing to know the Meaning of that Expreſſion, *Juxon* anſwered, *That the King immediately before coming out to the Place of Execution, had charged him to carry to the Prince his* George, *with theſe his laſt Commands, That he ſhould forgive his Murtherers; and if ever he came to the Crown, he ſhould ſo*

1685. *govern as not to force them upon Extremities.* The Queen Dowager, as she was going into *Somerset-House*, after the Restoration of *Charles* II, said, *Had I known the* English *some Years since, as well as I do now, I should never have been forced to leave this Palace.* In fine, *Charles* II, when at the Point of Death, told the Duke his Brother, *not to think of introducing the* Roman Catholick Religion *into* England, *being a dangerous and impracticable Thing.* These Warnings, which could not be suspected by the King, ought to have made him seriously consider what he was going to do.

Puffendorff. Fourthly, *Don Pedro Ronquillo* the *Spanish* Ambassadour, at his first Audience after the King's Accession to the Crown, told him, *That he saw several Priests about him, who would importune him to alter the established Religion; but wished his Majesty not to hearken to their Advice, for if he did, he would have Reason to repent of it when it was too late.* The King taking ill the Ambassador's Freedom, asked him eagerly, *Whether in* Spain *the King advised with his Confessors? Yes, Sir,* replied *Don Pedro, and that's the Reason our Affairs go so ill.*

Ibid. Fifthly, Pope *Innocent* XI, in a Letter to the King upon his coming to the Crown, told him, *that he was highly pleased with his Zeal for the Catholick Religion: But was afraid he would carry it too far, and instead of contributing to his own Greatness, and the Advancement of Religion, he would do both himself and the Catholick Church the greatest Prejudice, by attempting things which could never succeed.*

Lastly, It was manifest that the King could hope for Success in his Undertaking, no other Way than by Force, and that this same Force wholly lay in the Army and Fleet. But was it not a strange Project to attempt to reduce by Force a *Protestant* Kingdom to the *Catholick* Religion, with a *Protestant* Army and a Fleet, whose Commanders and Mariners were all *Protestants?* He had but too much Reason to perceive his Errour, when it was too late to help it.

The

These Considerations, Examples, and Warnings, were ineffectual against the impetuous Zeal of the King, and the Importunities of those who were admitted to his secret Counsels, and particularly the Queen. He attempted at once two Things equally difficult, namely, to set himself above the Laws, and to alter the established Religion. When I say he attempted it, I mean, openly and bare-faced, for it was no new Design. He had formed it long agone, and not to carry back the Beginning of it too far, it suffices to observe, that the Execution of it had now been about twenty Years privately in Hand; and that moreover, *James* only pursued the Scheme he had perhaps himself framed, when Duke of *York*. It was not therefore the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Defeat that inspired *James* II with the Thoughts of becoming absolute, and altering the established Religion. His good Fortune to conquer that Rival served only to put him upon hastening the Execution of his Projects. This will evidently appear, when we consider what passed in *Ireland* since the Beginning of his Reign. 1685.

The King's Proceedings in Ireland.

About two Months after the King's Accession to the Crown, he recalled the Duke of *Ormond* from *Ireland*, and appointed two Lords Justices to govern that Kingdom.* The Duke of *Ormond* was not a proper Instrument for the King's Purposes. At the same Time, the Privy-Council of *Ireland* was dissolved, and a new one appointed, wherein were admitted several *Papists*, well known for such. Soon after, their Number was so much increased, that they made up the major Part of the Council, so that the *Protestants* no longer assisted, that they might not authorise by their Presence, such Resolutions as it was in vain for them to oppose. When the Coun-

* The Archbishop of *Armagh*, and the Earl of *Granard*. The Archbishop was so compliant to the Court, that even his Religion came to be suspected. However he was not thought thorough-paced: So Sir *Charles Porter* was made Chancellor in his Room. *Burnet*, p. 654.

1685. cil was thus modelled, nothing was heard of in *Ireland*, but Impeachments againſt the *Proteſtants* for having been concerned in the *Rye-Plot*, and afterwards for holding Correſpondence with the Duke of *Monmouth*, or his Adherents. The Moment any Perſon was accuſed, he was committed to Priſon by the Council, without being admitted to Bail, or brought to a Trial. The Earl of *Granard*, one of the Lords Juſtices, and a good *Proteſtant*, weary of being made an Inſtrument to thoſe Acts of Injuſtice, deſired to be diſmiſſed. But the King denied him, and ſent him a Letter under his own Hand, aſſuring him, *that Nothing ſhould be acted prejudicial to the* Proteſtant *Intereſt*. But it ſoon appeared that the King never meant to perform this Promiſe. For very ſhortly after, he came to a Reſolution of having a ſtanding Army of *Papiſts* in *Ireland*, and of diſarming the *Proteſtants*. This laſt Article was firſt put in Practice: The King writ to the Lords Juſtices, "That there was Reaſon to believe that the Rebel-"lion of *Monmouth* had been of ſo ſpreading a "Contagion as to reach *Ireland*, and therefore it "was not ſafe to have the Arms of the *Militia* diſ-"perſed Abroad; but they would be in greater "Readineſs for the Uſe of the *Militia*, and the De-"fence of the Country, to have them depoſited in "the ſeveral Stores of each County." Upon this Order, the Lords Juſtices iſſued out a Proclamation, purſuant to the King's Deſires, and the City of *Dublin* having brought in their Arms, their Example was followed by all the Country.

The *Proteſtants* being thus diſarmed, means were thought of to turn the *Proteſtant* into a *Catholick* Army. For that Purpoſe, Colonel *Richard Talbot*, a furious *Papiſt*, was pitched upon and impowered to caſhier ſuch Officers and Soldiers as he thought fit. He was the Man of all others moſt odious to the *Engliſh* Proteſtants ſettled in *Ireland*. It is obſervable, that *Titus Oates* in his Narrative of the *Popiſh* Plot had named him as deſigned for this very Service.

So

So that when the Event was ſeen to agree ſo well with what *Oates* had related, many could not help thinking, either that he had been well informed, or was a good Prophet. 1685.

Talbot having received this Commiſſion, broke a great many Officers, on Pretence that they had born Arms againſt the King during the Troubles, or were Sons and Relations of thoſe who had ſerved under the Parliament or *Cromwell*. It muſt be obſerved, that all this paſſed in *Ireland*, before or immediately after the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Defeat; at a Time when the King had not yet diſcovered his Deſigns in *England*. That I may not be obliged to return too often to what was done in *Ireland*, I ſhall briefly add here, that about the End of the Year, *Talbot* came over into *England*, and was made Earl of *Tyrconnel*, and Lieutenant General of the *Iriſh* Army; and ſhortly after, the Earl of *Clarendon* was appointed to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

The Parliament of *England*, after ſeveral Adjournments, meeting at laſt on the 9th of *November*, the King made the following Speech to both Houſes.

"*My* LORDS *and* GENTLEMEN,

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

"AFTER the Storm that ſeemed to be coming upon Us when We parted laſt, I am glad to meet you all again in ſo great Peace and Quietneſs; God Almighty be praiſed, by whoſe Bleſſing that Rebellion was ſuppreſſed; but when I reflect what an inconſiderable Number of Men began it, and how long they carried it on without Oppoſition, I hope every Body will be convinced, that the *Militia*, which have hitherto been ſo much depended on, is not ſufficient for ſuch Occaſions; and that there is nothing but a good Force of *well-diſciplined* Troops in *conſtant Pay*, that can defend Us, from ſuch as either at Home or Abroad, are diſpoſed to diſturb Us. And in Truth, my Concern for the Peace and Quiet of

1685. " my Subjects, as well as for the Safety of the Go-
" vernment, made Me think it neceſſary to encreaſe
" the Number to the Proportion I have done; that
" I owned as well to the *Honour*, as the *Security* of
" the Nation, whoſe Reputation was ſo infinitely ex-
" poſed to all our Neighbours, by having laid open to
" the late wretched Attempt, that it is not to be repair-
" ed without keeping ſuch a Body of Men on Foot,
" that none may ever have a Thought of finding
" Us again ſo miſerably unprovided. It is for the
" Support of this great Charge, which is now more
" than double to what it was (*a*), that I aſk your
" Aſſiſtance, in giving Me a Supply anſwerable to
" the Expences it brings along with it; and I can-
" not doubt, but that what I have begun, ſo much
" to the Honour and Defence of the Government,
" will be continued by you with all Chearfulneſs and
" Readineſs, that is requiſite for a Work of ſo great
" Importance.

" Let no Man take Exception, that there are
" ſome Officers in the Army not *Qualified*, according
" to the late *Teſts*, for their Employments: The
" Gentlemen, I muſt tell you, are moſt of them
" known to Me; and having formerly ſerved Me
" on ſeveral Occaſions, and always approved the
" Loyalty of their Principles by their Practices, I
" think them now fit to be employed under Me;
" and I will deal plainly with you, that after having
" had the Benefit of their Services in Time of Need
" and Danger, I will neither expoſe them to *Diſ-*
" *grace*, nor Myſelf to the *Want* of them, if there
" ſhould be another *Rebellion* to make them neceſſary
" to Me. I am afraid ſome Men may be ſo wicked,
" to hope and expect, that a *Difference* may happen
" between You and Me upon this Occaſion: But
" when you conſider what Advantages have riſen to
" Us in a few Months, by the good Underſtanding

" We

(*a*) The Army which before conſiſted but of 7000 Men, was increaſed to 15000.

" We have hitherto had; what wonderful Effects 1685.
" it hath already produced in the change of the
" whole Scene of Affairs *Abroad*, ſo much more
" to the Honour of the Nation, and the Figure it
" ought to make in the World; and that Nothing
" can hinder a further Progreſs in this Way to all
" our Satisfactions, but *Fears* and *Jealouſies* amongſt
" Ourſelves; I will not apprehend that ſuch a
" Misfortune can befal Us, as a *Diviſion*, or but a
" *Coldneſs* between Us; nor that any Man can
" ſhake you in your Steddineſs and Loyalty to Me,
" who, by God's Bleſſing, will ever make you Re-
" turns of Kindneſs and Protection, with a Reſolu-
" tion to venture even my own Life in the Defence
" of the true Intereſt of this Kingdom."

People's Eyes begin to be opened.

This Speech equally ſurprized both Houſes of Parliament, and the whole Kingdom when it came to be publiſhed. The *Engliſh* had many Times ventured their Lives in the defence of their Laws and Liberties, which they looked upon then to be ſecured, as well by the Conſtitution of the Government, as by the King's ſolemn Word and Promiſe: But they beheld their Laws openly attacked in the moſt ſenſible Part. Many of thoſe who had moſt warmly oppoſed the Excluſion-Bill, began to open their Eyes, and perceive that the Jealouſies and Fears of the *Whig* Parliaments were too well-grounded, and that it was difficult to reconcile the Intereſts of a *Roman Catholick King*, with thoſe of a *Proteſtant Kingdom*. This was what the *Whigs* had in vain declared in the late Reign. Inſtead of duly weighing their Reaſons, the *Tories* had run into the other Extreme, nay had expected to be Gainers by ſetting the Duke of *York* on the Throne. But this firſt publick Step of the King's, made them proceed for the Future with a little more Caution, though by their Principles they were not yet obliged to take ſuch Meaſures as would have been neceſſary.

It

1685. *The Lords thanked the King.*

It was warmly debated in the House of Lords, whether they should give the King Thanks for his Speech. Some were utterly against it; whereupon the Marques of *Halifax* said, *They had now more Reason than ever to give Thanks to his Majesty, since he had dealt so plainly with them, and discovered what he would be at.* Nevertheless, it was carried by the Majority that the King should be thanked. But however, the Bishop of *London* moved that his Majesty's Speech might be debated, and though it was unusual in the House, the 23d of the Month was appointed to take the Speech into Consideration, with which the King was highly displeased.

The Commons defer it.

When the *Commons* were returned to their House, the King's Speech was ordered to be read, which was followed with a long and profound Silence. At last the Earl of *Middleton* moved for an Address of Thanks to the King for his Speech. This Motion produced a second Silence, which was broke by the Lord *Castleton*, who more bold than the rest plainly declared against thanking the King. Whereupon, as it was likely there would be some Difficulty in the Matter, the Debate was adjourned till the 12th of the Month. To give the Reader a clearer Notion of the Difficulties which occurred in the King's Demand, I shall make here some Observations which perhaps will not be foreign to the purpose.

Observations on this Matter.

The House of *Commons*, as I said, consisted then of *Tory*-Members, there being very few *Whigs*, or if any, their Number was not considerable. Now the *Tories* had a quite different Notion of the Regal Power from that of the *Whigs*. They had, as we have seen, declared in the late Reign for the Doctrine of *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, and the Church of *England* had made it an Article of Faith. Nevertheless, it may be said when they introduced this Doctrine without any Limitation, they did not foresee all the Consequences. It was done purely to contradict the Principles of the *Whigs*, who ran into the other Extreme. As they fancied that *Charles* II and

James II were for them, they believed they could not ſtretch the Royal Prerogative too much, imagining that theſe two Princes would exert it only againſt their Adverſaries. According to this Principle, King *James*'s Demand for a ſtanding Army of Fifteen Thouſand Men in time of Peace, did not ſeem contrary to their Intereſt, though the Parliaments had ever been extremely averſe to the keeping up an Army which ſerved only to increaſe the Regal Power. But what the King was doing by his ſole Authority, namely, employing *Popiſh* Officers in this Army, was a Thing as much againſt the *Tory* as the *Whig* Intereſt. It was eaſy to perceive of what dangerous Conſequence it might be to the *Proteſtant* Religion in general, as well *Epiſcopalian* as *Presbyterian*, and this Danger was ſo much the more to be dreaded, as what was doing in *Ireland* plainly diſcovered the King's Intentions. Beſides, the Power the King had aſſumed to exempt the *Popiſh* Officers from taking the *Teſt*, was directly contrary to the Liberties of the Kingdom as well as of Religion. 1685

When therefore the King's Speech came to be debated on the 12th of *November* in the Houſe of *Commons*, ſuch Members as were not of the ſame Principles with the rigid and violent *Tories*, ſpoke with great Freedom, ſetting forth the Inconveniences of a ſtanding Army in time of Peace, and moved for the new Modelling the *Militia*, ſo as to render them of uſe upon Occaſion. They were ſuffered to talk as much as they pleaſed, but when the Queſtion was put for a Supply to be given to the King, it was carried in the Affirmative. It is true, ſome one having moved that theſe words might be added, *towards the Support of the additional Forces*, the Motion was rejected, that the Houſe might not appear to approve of the Augmentation of the regular Troops, and inſtead thereof it paſt, that *the Houſe be moved to bring in a Bill to make the Militia uſeful.* By this they would have had it believed, that the Parliament reſerved to themſelves the Power of breaking the regular Troops, and *A Supply voted.*

1685. and eſtabliſhing a good *Militia* in their Room. But doubtleſs the true Reaſon was, that the People might not be alarmed, if they ſaw the Parliament approve of keeping up an Army in time of Peace. For when all was done, the King had a Supply given him to maintain this ſame Army.

As to the Sum which was to be granted, the Courtiers would have had it to be Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds. Others exclaimed againſt the Exorbitancy of ſuch a Sum, and were for reducing it to Four Hundred Thouſand Pounds, alledging that it would be enough to maintain the additional Forces two Years, till the *Militia* ſhould be made uſeful. They repreſented, that they had already given *Cuſtoms* and *Exciſes* for his Majeſty's Life, which amounted to ſix Millions of Money (*a*), and that if they gave ſo much at once, they ſhould have nothing left to give: eſpecially as it was the Nation's Intereſt that the King ſhould have frequent Occaſion for his Parliament. At laſt, after great Debates it was reſolved that a Supply of Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds ſhould be granted to the King. It was evident therefore, that the keeping up an Army of Fifteen Thouſand Men was not the thing which the *Commons* were moſt offended with in the King's Speech.

Debates about Popiſh Officers.

But the Affair of the *Popiſh* Officers was of ſuch a Nature, that it affected the *Tory* no leſs than the *Whig*-Party. It was eaſy to ſee how great Danger the *Proteſtant* Religion would be in, if the Parliament, after having agreed to the keeping up a ſtanding Army, ſhould farther conſent to the King's employing as many *Papiſts* as he pleaſed. The *Commons* thought therefore, that on this occaſion it was neceſſary to ſet ſome bounds to *Paſſive Obedience*, though till now this Doctrine had been maintained without any Limitation, becauſe

(*a*) Reckoning all the Time for which they had been granted.

becauſe it was depended upon that the King would not attack Religion and the Laws. One of the Members ſpeaking on this Subject, repreſented in a very ſtrong Manner, " That his Majeſty on his firſt " Acceſſion to the Crown told them, *He had been* " *miſrepreſented, and that he would preſerve the Go-* " *vernment of the Church and State now eſtabliſhed by* " *Law, and maintain them in all their juſt Rights and* " *Privileges:* That overjoyed at this, they run haſtily " to him, and were ſo forward to give, that the " King's Miniſters put their Stop to it: That they " ought not to forget that there was a *Bill of Ex-* " *cluſion* debated in that Houſe; and that the Argu- " ments for it were, *That they ſhould, in caſe of a Po-* " *piſh Succeſſor, have a Popiſh Army:* That they ſaw " the *Act* of the *Teſt* already broken; but prayed " them to remember what the late Lord Chancellor " told them when King *Charles* paſſed that Act: *By* " *this Act*, ſaid he, *you are provided againſt* Popery, " *that no* Papiſt *can poſſibly creep into any Employ-* " *ment:* That he was greatly afflicted at the Breach " of their Liberties, and ſeeing ſo great a Difference " between his laſt Speech, and thoſe heretofore made, " he could not believe but this was made by ſome " other Advice: That what the Thing ſtruck at " there was their All; and that he wondered there " had been any Men ſo deſperate, as to take any " Employment without being qualified for it: And " concluded to have a *ſtanding Army* voted to be " deſtructive to the Country". During theſe Debates the Court-Party were not idle. They repreſented with great Strength, the Inconveniences of not complying with the King's Deſires. The Reſult was, the appointing a Committee to draw up the following Addreſs, which was preſented to the King the 17th of *November*. 1685.

" *Moſt*

1685.

" *Most* GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

The Commons Address.

" WE your Majesty's most loyal and faithful " Subjects, the Commons in Parliament as- " sembled, do, in the first Place, as in Duty bound, " return your Majesty our most humble and hearty " Thanks for your great Care and Conduct in sup- " pressing the late Rebellion, which threatned the " Overthrow of this Government both in *Church* " and *State*, to the Extirpation of our *Religion as* " *by Law established*, which is most dear to us, and " which your Majesty hath been pleased to give us " REPEATED ASSURANCES you will always " defend and maintain; which, with all grateful " Hearts we shall ever acknowledge. We further " crave leave to acquaint your Majesty, that we " have with all Duty and Readiness taken into our " Consideration your Majesty's *gracious Speech* to us: " And to that part of it relating to the Officers of " the Army, not *qualified* for their Employments, " according to an Act of Parliament made in the " 25th Year of the Reign of your Royal Brother, " entitled, *An Act for preventing Dangers which may* " *happen from Popish Recusants*; We do out of our " bounden Duty, humbly represent unto your Ma- " jesty, that these Officers cannot by Law be capable " of their Employments; and that the Incapacities " they bring upon themselves that way, can no way " be taken off but by an Act of Parliament: " Therefore, out of that great Reverence and Duty " we owe unto your Majesty, who have been gra- " ciously pleased to take notice of their Services to " your Majesty, we are preparing a *Bill* in both " Houses, for your Royal Assent, to indemnify " them from the Penalties they have incurred: And " because the Continuing them in their Employments, " may be taken to be a *Dispensing* with that Law, " without an *Act* of Parliament, the Consequences " of which is of the greatest Concern to the Rights

" of

" of your Majeſty's Subjects, and to all the Laws 1685.
" made for the Security of their Religion: We
" therefore, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of
" your Majeſty's Houſe of Commons, do moſt
" humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that you would
" be moſt graciouſly pleaſed to give ſuch Directions
" therein, that no Apprehenſions or Jealouſies may
" remain in the Hearts of your Majeſty's moſt loyal
" Subjects."

This Addreſs being preſented to the King by the Speaker, attended by the whole Houſe, his Majeſty gave them this Anſwer:

GENTLEMEN,

I did not expect ſuch an Addreſs from the Houſe of Commons: *For having ſo lately recommended to your Conſideration the great Advantage a good Underſtanding between us had produced in a very ſhort time, and given you Warning of* Fears *and* Jealouſies *amongſt our ſelves; I had reaſon to hope, That the Reputation God had bleſſed us with in the World, would have ſealed and confirmed a good Confidence to you for me, and of all that I ſay to you. But however you proceed on your Part, I will be ſteady in all my* PROMISES *I have made you, and be juſt in my Word in this, and all my other Speeches.*

The Commons ſeek to content the King.

This Anſwer, though pretty obſcure, ſurprized the *Commons* to ſuch a Degree, that when it was read in the Houſe, they kept a deep Silence for a conſiderable while. At laſt it was moved by one of the Members, that a particular Day might be appointed to conſider of the King's Anſwer. This Motion was ſeconded by Mr. *Coke* [Burgeſs for *Derby*] who added, *He hoped they were all true* Engliſhmen, *and not to be frighted out of their Duty by a few hard Words.* Though this Speech was very conſiſtent with the Freedom of a Houſe of *Commons*, the Majority however were pleaſed to look upon Mr. *Coke* as an *Incendiary*,

1684. *Incendiary*, who intended to ſow Diſcord between the King and the *Commons*, and voted him to be ſent to the *Tower*. Moreover, the Houſe, to make amends in ſome meaſure for the Offence they had given the King, proceeded to *Ways* and *Means* towards raiſing the Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds before voted. But they ſtopped not here. To ſhow the King that they ſought all poſſible ways to content him, beſides a *Bill* to indemnify the *Popiſh* Officers from the Penalties they had already incurred, they reſolved to tender another to the King, to qualify ſuch a Number of thoſe Officers to ſerve in the Army as he ſhould think fit. Theſe things are a clear Evidence, that it was with Regret that the Houſe went from the Principle of *Paſſive-Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*.

Petitions from the Lords Priſoners.

In the mean time, the Lords received *Petitions* from the Earl of *Stamford* and the Lord *Delamere*, repreſenting that theſe two Peers were committed to the *Tower* in *July* laſt, upon a general Accuſation of Treaſon, kept cloſe Priſoners, and denied the Uſe of Pen, Ink, and Paper. Theſe Petitions obliged the Lords to ſend to the King to know the Reaſon why theſe two Peers were impriſoned. The King anſwered by the Lord Chancellor, that they were committed for High-Treaſon, and that he had given Orders for a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to try the Lord *Delamere* in *Cheſhire*, where the Crime was committed. But as he had given no Orders about the Earl of *Stamford*'s Tryal, the Lords appointed him to be tried by his Peers, to which the King conſented.

The King prorogues the Parliament.

Within a few Days, on the 20th of *November*, the King finding it would be difficult to get the *Commons* to comply with his Deſires concerning the *Popiſh* Officers, prorogued the Parliament till the 10th of *February*, after a Seſſion but of Eleven Days. The King loſt, by the Prorogation, the Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds voted by the *Commons*. But he did not want it, conſidering the vaſt Sums they had liberally

berally granted him. This Prorogation, which was followed by ſeveral others, and at length by the Diſſolution of the Parliament, the laſt in this Reign, is a clear Demonſtration of two Things. Firſt, that the King conſidered the Affair of the *Popiſh* Officers in the Army as a Thing of great Moment, ſince he choſe rather to loſe Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds, than have his pretended Right to employ them conteſted by the Parliament. The ſecond Thing is, the exceſſive Compliance ſhown the King by the *Commons*, in enabling him to keep up an Army, employ *Popiſh* Officers, and in a Word, to have no Occaſion for a Parliament. For, from hence ſprung all the Evils which afflicted *England* during the Reſt of this Reign. 1685.

The Lord Delamere's Tryal.

About a Month after the Prorogation of the Parliament, the Lord *Delamere* was brought to his Tryal by his Peers, though the King had before reſolved to have him proceeded againſt in another manner. The Lord *Howard* was the firſt Witneſs produced againſt him. But though he gave a large Account of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Conſpiracy, he depoſed nothing poſitive againſt the Lord *Delamere*. The ſecond Witneſs was the Lord *Grey*, which ſurprized every body, it not being known that he was pardoned. This gave occaſion to think he was in great Favour with the King. But his Evidence tended more to prove in general the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, than the Guilt of the Priſoner in particular. One *Saxon* was the only Witneſs that ſwore to the Lord *Delamere*'s Correſpondence with the Duke of *Monmouth*. But as he was a Perſon of very bad Reputation, the Lords took no notice of his Evidence, and the Priſoner was unanimouſly acquitted.

He is acquitted.

The Lord Stamford is diſcharged upon Bail.

As for the Earl of *Stamford* he was admitted to Bail, and though nothing could be proved againſt him, he thought fit to lay hold on the Proclamation of Pardon which was iſſued out ſhortly after. This Pardon was not publiſhed till the End of the Year, after the Executions of a great Number of Perſons.

1685. It was moreover clogged with so many *Exceptions*, that the King was not much thanked for it.

Promotions at Court. *James*, in this first Year of his Reign, bestowed Honours and Dignities upon several of his Favourites and Adherents, and advanced others to high Offices. The Earl of *Arlington* dying, his Place of Lord-Chamberlain was conferred on the Earl of *Mulgrave*, who became one of the chief Favourites in this Reign. The Earl of *Rochester* was made Lord-Treasurer; and the Earl of *Clarendon* his elder Brother Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Lord *Sunderland*, principal Secretary of State, was declared Lord-President of the Council, and from that time became Prime-Minister of State.

The Death of Sir John Marsham. The Person most known Abroad that died this Year, was Sir *John Marsham*, eminent for his great Skill in antient History and Chronology. He departed this Life in the Eighty Third Year of his Age.

1686. The Year 1686, which we are now to enter upon, was wholly spent, as well as the next, in the Execution of the King's two grand Projects, namely, of making himself absolute, and establishing Popery in the Kingdom. These two Projects must go Hand in Hand. For the King being a *Papist*, his chief Aim in becoming absolute was to alter the Religion of the Land; and on the other Side, he could not introduce *Popery* but by setting himself above the Laws.

Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland. Before Things were carried any farther in *England*, he believed it proper to make sure of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. As for *Scotland*, the Managers there were wholly disposed to comply with the King's Will. The late Parliament, besides the *Acts* before-mentioned, had passed one wherein it was declared, "That they "owe all their Blessings to the sacred Race of their "glorious Kings, and to their solid, absolute Au- "thority wherewith they were invested by the first "and fundamental Laws of their Monarchy:— "And therefore they again declare to the World, "That

" That they abhor and deteſt, not only the Authors 1686.
" and Actors of all preceeding Rebellions againſt
" their Sovereign, but alſo all Principles and Poſi-
" tions which are contrary or derogatory to the
" King's *Sacred, Supreme, Sovereign, Abſolute Power*
" *and Authority*, which none, whether particular
" Perſons or collective Bodies, can participate of any
" manner of Way, or upon any Pretext, but in
" Dependance on him, and by Commiſſion from
" him, *&c*". They paſſed another Act, " To con-
" firm and approve whatever had been done by his
" Majeſty's Privy-Council, Juſtice-Court, and thoſe
" commiſſionated by them, in baniſhing, impriſo-
" ning or fining ſuch as refuſed to take and ſwear the
" *Oath of Allegiance*; and to aſſert the Royal Pre-
" rogative in the utmoſt Extent of them".

If we call to mind what paſſed in *Scotland* in the Reign of *Charles* I, and during the *Inter-regnum*, we ſhall eaſily perceive that this was not the general Senſe of the *Scots*, but only the Opinion of a Parliament devoted to the King, and which viſibly abuſed their Authority, to eſtabliſh a Form of Government directly contrary to the old Conſtitution.

Encouraged by theſe Advances, the King ſummoned the Parliament of *Scotland* to aſſemble on the 29th of *April* this Year, and wrote a Letter to them, wherein, " He recommends to their eſpecial Care,
" his innocent *Roman-Catholick* Subjects, who had
" always been Aſſiſtant to the Crown in the worſt
" of Rebellions and Uſurpations, though they lay
" under Diſcouragements hardly to be named: Theſe
" he moſt heartily recommended to them; to the
" End, that as they had given good Experience of
" their true Loyalty and peaceable Behaviour, ſo by
" their Aſſiſtance, they might have the Protection
" of his Laws, not ſuffering them to lie under any
" *Obligations* which their Religion could not admit
" of; by doing of which, they would give a De-
" monſtration of their Duty and Affection towards

1686. " him, and do him moſt acceptable Service. And " this Love he expected they ſhould ſhew to their " *Brethren*, as they ſaw him an *indulgent Father* to his " People."

The Earl of *Murray*, Lord High Commiſſioner ſeconded this Letter, with a particular Account of the many Advantages the King intended to procure for his Realm of *Scotland*, chiefly with reſpect to Trade. He endeavoured likewiſe to perſuade them, that what the King deſired, tended as much to the Honour and Welfare of his Subjects of *Scotland*, as to his own Satisfaction. He concluded with ſaying, " By this you will ſhew your ſelves the beſt and " moſt affectionate Subjects to the Beſt, the Incom- " parable, and moſt Heroick Prince in the World."

When the King's Letter and the Lord Commiſſioner's Speech came to be conſidered in the Parliament, ſome Members without looking farther, were for complying with the King's Deſires. But others, in greater Numbers, moved and prevailed to have a Committee appointed, to examine the *Statutes* againſt the *Papiſts*. The Committee finding that the Statutes only forbad the publick Exerciſe of the *Popiſh* Religion, drew up a *Bill* to allow them the Exerciſe of their Religion in private. But when this *Bill* was preſented to the Parliament, it met with ſo much Oppoſition, that the Lord Commiſſioner thought fit to adjourn the Debate until another Time, when he ſhould have received Inſtructions from Court. The King ſent him Orders to diſſolve, or at leaſt to prorogue the Parliament, and ſome Time after, by his ſole Authority, he eſtabliſhed Liberty of Conſcience in *Scotland*.

Affairs of Ireland. Affairs in *Ireland* were upon another Foot. The King's Will met with no Oppoſition there, and though the Lord Lieutenant was a *Proteſtant*, his Credit and Authority were inſufficient to put a Stop to the Acts of Injuſtice committed againſt thoſe of his Religion. The new Earl of *Tyrconnel* was no ſooner returned to *Dublin* with the Title of Lieutenant-Ge-

neral of the Army, but he began afreſh to break the *Proteſtant* Officers and Soldiers, and put *Roman Catholicks* in their Places; without vouchſafeing to ask for the Lord Lieutenant's Order. This bred a Quarrel between them, wherein *Tyrconnel* behaved in a very haughty Manner, ever ſaying, he did nothing but by the King's expreſs Order. When he had modelled the Army according to the King's Mind, he went over into *England*, where by Means of the Queen and Father *Peters* the Jeſuit, he ſupplanted the Earl of *Clarendon*, and got himſelf appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. Upon his Arrival at *Dublin*, he iſſued out a Proclamation to diſpel the Fears of the *Proteſtants* who ſaw themſelves, to their great Sorrow, in Subjection to a *Catholick*. But his Actions ſquared not with his Promiſes. Wherefore, a great Number of *Proteſtants*, choſe rather to quit their Eſtates in *Ireland*, and withdraw into *England*, than remain any longer under the Government of one ſo juſtly odious to them. On the other Hand, the *Engliſh* Merchants who traded in *Ireland*, withdrew their Effects from thence, and by that the Kingdom was reduced to great Extremities. But all theſe Diſadvantages were made up by the Hopes of rooting out the *Proteſtant* Religion in that Country. 1686.

Means made uſe of by the King in England to execute his Deſigns.

But it was chiefly in *England* that the King deſired to eſtabliſh *Popery* and Arbitrary Power: For, as I ſaid, one of thoſe Things could not advance, but as attended with the other. If he had only aimed at abſolute Power, without meddling with Religion, in all Appearance, he would have ſucceeded without much Difficulty, ſince this Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* was in a Manner fully eſtabliſhed, and was now reckoned an eſſential Doctrine of the Church of *England* The Members whereof made the Body of the Nation, and were poſſeſſed of all Offices and Places of Truſt. But as he had already diſcovered, that if he wanted to be freed from the Yoke of the Laws, it was chiefly for the Sake of eſtabliſhing his Reli-

1686. gion, the Parliament, how devoted to him ſoever they might be in all other Reſpects, were not ſo compliant as to abandon the Intereſt of Religion. Notwithſtanding this, he hoped to attain to his Ends, firſt, by cauſing the Judges to give it as their Opinion that he had a Power to diſpenſe with the Laws. Secondly, by gaining the Members of Parliament by Degrees, one after another, being reſolved to have no Seſſion till he had compaſſed his Deſign. In *England*, juſt as in other Places, there are Men always ready to ſacrifice the publick, to their private Intereſt, and there were but too many, on the preſent Occaſion, even among the Clergy themſelves. Dr. *Cartwright*, Dean of *Rippon*, ſpeaking, in a Sermon, of the King's Promiſes made to the Parliament, which were then the common Topick of Diſcourſe, ſaid, "That "the King's Promiſes were *free Donatives*, and "ought not to be too ſtrictly examined or urged; "and that they muſt leave his Majeſty to explain "his own Meaning in them." The King was ſo delighted with this Gloſs, that he rewarded the Author with the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*, as an Encouragement to other Clergymen to follow ſo good an Example.

Cartwright's Gloſs upon the King's Promiſes.

He is made Biſhop of Cheſter.

Alterations among the Judges.

As for the Judges, the King took Care to ſend for them one by one, and talk with them privately in his Cloſet *, in order to perſwade them to declare for his *Diſpenſing Power*, telling them he would have no Judges, but ſuch as were of his Opinion *1. Four flatly

* Upon which the Term *cloſetting* was much toſſed about. He not only talked with his Judges in this Manner, but with many Parliament-Men about the Affair of the *Teſt*, ſome whereof gave him very flat and hardy Denials: Others, though more Silent, yet were no leſs ſteady. So finding he could not bring the Majority to a Compliance, he diſſolved the Parliament: Of whom, *Burnet* ſays, In all *England* it would not have been eaſy to have found 500 Men ſo weak, ſo poor, and ſo devoted to the Court. So happily was the Nation taken out of their Hands by this precipitated Violence of a bigotted Court. *Burnet* 668.

*1 Upon which *Jones* told him, "Poſſibly you may find "twelve Judges of your Opinion, but you will never find twelve "Lawyers to be ſo."

ſtrictly refuſed to comply, and were immediately turned out. The King appointed four others of more pliable and ſubmiſſive Underſtandings, among whom there was one *Papiſt* *. 1686.

A Call of Serjeants.

At the ſame Time, the King made a Call of Serjeants at Law, among whom were ſeveral *Catholicks*, one of whom was knighted *1, and a little after another Lawyer of the ſame Religion was made a Judge *2.

And in the Privy Council.

The Privy Council in like Manner underwent an Alteration, the King having received into it four zealous *Catholicks*; namely, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, and the Lord *Bellaſis*, who had been long confined in the *Tower*, being accuſed of having a Hand in the *Popiſh* Plot, the Lord *Dover* and the Earl of *Tyrconnel*. He likewiſe admitted the new Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and Dr. *Parker* Biſhop of *Oxford*, who was a reputed *Papiſt*. All theſe Alterations clearly diſcovered the Mark at which the King was aiming.

The Judges give their Opinion that the King may diſpenſe with the Laws.

But it was not long before he gave more flagrant Evidence of his Deſigns. It has been already ſeen that he had aſſumed a Power to diſpenſe with the Obſervation of the *Teſt-Act* in his *Catholick* Officers. The Parliament's Refuſal of their Conſent to this Innovation, only exaſperated the King, and brought him to a Reſolution of diſpenſing with the *Penal Laws* in all his Subjects in general, and conſequently in the *Papiſts*. But as this was directly againſt Law, he undertook to prove that the very Laws inveſted him with this diſpenſing Power, and

* The Judges turned out.	Put in their Places.
Sir *Thomas Jones*.	Sir *Henry Bedingfield*.
William Mountague.	Sir *Edward Atkins*.
Sir *Job Charlton*.	Sir *Edward Lutwiche*,
Sir *Edward Neville*.	*Richard Heath*.

*1 Sir *Chriſtopher Milton* the Poet's Brother, who was made a Judge.

*2 Sir *Richard Allibone* of *Gray's-Inn* a *Papiſt*. The *Motto* uſed by the *Serjeants* was *Deus, Rex, Lex*.

1686. this was to be done by the Gloſſes of his corrupt Judges. For this Purpoſe he took Care firſt to have Papers diſperſed through the Kingdom, to prove this pretended Right, and to prepare the People's Compliance with his Deſigns *. At laſt in a particular Caſe *1 all the Judges, one excepted, gave their Opinions for the King, which they made a general Rule of Law in the following Points.

1. That the Laws of *England* are the King's Laws. 2. That therefore it is an incident, inſeparable Prerogative of the Kings of *England*, as of all other Sovereign Princes, to diſpenſe with all *Penal Laws*, in particular Caſes, and upon particular neceſſary Reaſons. 3. That of theſe Reaſons and Neceſſities the King is the ſole Judge; conſequently, 4. That this is not a *Truſt* inveſted in and granted to the King, but the ancient Remains of the Sovereign Power of the King's of *England*, which never was yet taken from them, nor can be.

The Papiſts *openly profeſs their Religion.*

In Conſequence of this Deciſion, the *Papiſts*, with the King's Permiſſion, ſet up every where in the Kingdom, the free and open Exerciſe of their Religion. The *Jeſuits* erected Colleges and Seminaries in all large Towns; and at the ſame Time four *Popiſh* Biſhops were publickly conſecrated in the King's Chapel, and ſent down to exerciſe their Functions in their reſpective Dioceſes, under the Title of *Vicars Apoſtolical*. Their Paſtoral Letters addreſſed to the Laity of their Communion, were printed at the King's Printing-Houſe, and diſperſed through the whole Kingdom. Monks appeared in the Habits of their Order at *White-hall* and *St. James*'s, and with Aſſurance told the *Proteſtants, that they hoped in a little Time to walk in Proceſſion through* Cheapſide. And as a great Number of Converſions were expected,

Popiſh *Biſhops conſecrated.*

* *L'Eſtrange* and others were employed to ſhew, *that a Power in the King to diſpenſe with Law was Law.*

*1 In the Caſe of Sir *Edward Halis* a *Popiſh* Gentleman of *Kent*, they had an Employment.

pected, that ſo large a Harveſt might not want Labourers, great Numbers of Prieſts and Monks were called over from Foreign Parts. From this Time no Poſts of Honour or Profit could be pretended to, but by *Papiſts*, or ſuch at leaſt as were thought ready to become ſo. All Affairs of the Council paſſed through *Catholick* Hands, or others who had but little Regard to Religion. Thus by a Deciſion of ten or twelve Judges, and they too nominated and corrupted by the King before their Admiſſion, the Laws of *England* were given up, and the Conſtitution ſuffered a total Alteration. By a like Practice it was that *Charles* I, brought his Judges to decide, that it was the Right to impoſe Taxes in Caſes of Neceſſity, of which Neceſſity himſelf was ſole Judge. It will be eaſily apprehended that the Laws of *England* would be ill ſupported, had they no firmer Foundation than the Deciſions of Judges appointed by the King. But it is ſurprizing that the precedent of *Ship-Money*, eſtabliſhed by *Charles* I, and in Effect the principal Cauſe of his Ruin, had ſo little Impreſſion on *James* II. His Vehement Zeal for his Religion, made every thing eaſy as poſſible to him; and at all Hazards he was reſolved to run the Riſk of the Undertaking. 1686.

Places beſtowed on Papiſts.

The King made trial of another Expedient for the Advancement of his Religion. This was by ſending a circular Letter to the Biſhops, with an Order "prohibiting "all the inferiour Clergy from preaching upon con- "troverted Points of Divinity." And the Pretence of this was that ſuch Preaching raiſed and fomented Animoſities among the People. It was thus that the Perſecution began in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, and it ought not to ſeem ſtrange that a *Popiſh* King imitated ſo zealous a *Popiſh* Queen. But on this Occaſion the Clergy of the Church of *England* diſcovered clearly their Averſion to *Popery*, of which they had hitherto ſtood accuſed by their Enemies, on Pretence of a ſcrupulous Attachment to ſome Modes and Ceremonies, which the firſt Reformers had not thought fit

The Clergy forbid to preach upon controverted Points;

but obeys not.

1686. fit to retrench. For Numbers of the dignified Clergy, and the most distinguished for their Piety and Learning, far from prevaricating in the Discharge of their Office, preached openly on Points controverted between their Church and that of *Rome*, or rather these Points were the Sum and Substance of their Discourses. They saw clearly the Tendency of this extraordinary *Inhibition*, at a time when the Protestant Religion was openly attacked, as well in Sermons, as Writings printed with Licence, and industriously dispersed through the Nation. It is Justice to do Honour to these faithful Ministers of the Gospel, by transmitting to Posterity the Names of the most distinguished amongst them: These were *Tillotson*, *Stillingfleet*, *Tennison*, *Wake*, *Patrick*, *Sharp*, *Sherlock*, all famous for their Writings, and all afterwards promoted to the first Dignities of the Church.

The King erects an Ecclesiastical Commission.

The King and his Popish Council were very much offended with this Boldness, and therefore in order to force the Protestant Clergy into a Compliance, the King erected a new Court for the Management of Ecclesiastical Affairs, composed of several Members, and even some of these Papists. A Nomination of Papists to be Judges and Directors of a Protestant Clergy in Matters of Doctrine and Discipline, shewed that the King would no longer keep any Measures. Amongst these Commissioners were three Bishops, *to wit*, of *Canterbury*, *Durham*, and *Rochester*. The Rest were all of the Laity, of which the Principal were *Jeffreys* Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Rochester* Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Sunderland* Secretary of State, and President of the Council, and the Lord-Chief-Justice *Herbert*. The Commission was directed to any Three of them, provided the Lord-Chancellor was one. It is easy to guess at the Reason of the Nomination of *Jeffreys* to be always one of the Number.

Power of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

By this Commission they had a Power to exercise and execute all Manner of Jurisdictions and Pre-eminences, touching any Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions;

riſdictions; to viſit, reform, redreſs, and amend all Abuſes, Offences, Contempts, and Enormities whatſoever, which by the Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Laws of the Realm might be lawfully corrected. They were alſo to enquire of all *Offences*, *Contempts*, and *Miſdemeanours* committed, or hereafter to be committed; that they might be corrected and puniſhed by the Cenſure of the Church; they were to ſearch for, and call before them all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons of what Degree or Dignity ſoever, and to puniſh the Offenders by Excommunications, Suſpenſions, Deprivations, or other Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures: They were impowered to ſend for all *Statutes*, *Rules*, *Letters-Patents* of Univerſities, Colledges, Grammar-Schools, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Corporations, and the ſaid Statutes to correct, amend, and alter as they ſaw meet and convenient, *&c.* 1686.

Many of the beſt Lawyers thought this Commiſſion illegal, and contrary to the Act paſſed in the 17th Year of *Charles* I, for the Aboliſhing the *High-Commiſſion-Court*. Others pretended that there was nothing in it contrary to that Act. It ſeems however that the Court was not altogether ſatisfied as to the Legality of this Commiſſion, ſince though it was granted the Beginning of *April*, it was not opened till the Beginning of *Auguſt*. Beſides the Archbiſhop would never act in it.

The Affair of the Biſhop of London.

Shortly after the Commiſſion was opened, Dr. *Sharp*, in a Sermon, vindicated the Church of *England* in Oppoſition to the Errours of Popery. The King informed of it, pretended that the Preacher's Intention was to beget an ill Opinion of himſelf and his Government in the Minds of the Hearers, and to lead them into Diſobedience and Rebellion. On this Suppoſition he ſent a Letter to the Biſhop of *London*, commanding him "forthwith to ſuſpend Dr. *Sharp* "from farther Preaching in any Pariſh-Church or "Chapel in his Dioceſs, till he had given him Sa-"tisfaction, and his farther Pleaſure was known "therein". On Receit of the Order, the Biſhop wrote

1685. wrote to the Earl of *Sunderland*, and prayed him to communicate his Letter to the King. He repreſented to that Earl, that he was to proceed according to Law and as a Judge; but by the Law no Judge condemns a Man before he has knowledge of the Cauſe, and has cited the Party. Dr. *Sharp* himſelf carried the Letter, but could obtain no Anſwer. Two Days after he waited on the King at *Windſor* with a very humble Petition, but without any Effect. The King and his Council had already reſolved to lay hold on this Occaſion to puniſh the Biſhop of *London*, who was upon ill Terms with the Court, becauſe he had propoſed in the Houſe of Lords an Examination of the King's Speech. Beſides, by ſo great an Example they were reſolved to eſtabliſh the Authority of their new Eccleſiaſtical Court, and intimidate the Reſt of the Clergy. The Biſhop was therefore cited to appear before the Court the 4th of *Auguſt*, where he was treated in a Manner unbecoming his Birth * and Dignity by *Jeffreys* the Chancellor, who uſed him with his accuſtomed Inſolence. The Biſhop demanded a Copy of the Commiſſion, or at leaſt to hear it read. But this was refuſed, and he was anſwered by *Jeffreys* that the Commiſſion might be had in every *Coffee-Houſe* for a Penny. At laſt with great Difficulty he obtained a Delay of five Days. The 9th of *Auguſt* he appeared a ſecond time before the Court, and diſowned its Juriſdiction, alledging, That as a Biſhop he had no other Judge but his Metropolitan: but his Plea was rejected. At laſt, after two or three Adjournments of the Court, he was ſuſpended from the Function and Execution of his Epiſcopal Office for his Diſobedience and Contempt: And the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, and *Peterborough*, were appointed Commiſſioners within the Dioceſs of *London*, during the Biſhop's Suſpenſion. Dr. *Sharp* was likewiſe ſuſpended, but only for a few Days.

who is ſuſpended.

This

* Brother to the late, and Uncle to the then Earl of *Northampton*.

This Affair convinced all the World that the Court was reſolved to ſilence all *Proteſtant* Miniſters, to prevent their maintaining the Proteſtant Religion in their Sermons. It was underſtood likewiſe that the King was reſolved to keep no more Meaſures, in that, at a time of profound Peace, he had formed a Camp of Fifteen Thouſand Men upon *Hounſlow-Heath*, under the Command of the Earl of *Feverſham*. In this Camp was a publick Chappel where Maſs was ſaid every Day. 1686.

Though the Army had but very few Popiſh Officers and Soldiers, it was nevertheleſs feared that the whole would be ſubſervient to the King in the Execution of his Deſigns, in conſequence of that blind Obedience of which moſt of the Troops made Profeſſion. Wherefore one *Johnſon* * a Clergyman, addreſſed a Writing to the Proteſtant-Officers and Soldiers of the Army, wherein he laid before them the Reaſons which ought to prevent their being the Tools of the Court, for the Deſtruction of their Religion, and the Subverſion of the Government. This Writing was too oppoſite to the King's Deſigns to eſcape unpuniſhed. Therefore the Author being cited before the Court of *King's-Bench*, was ſentenced to ſtand three times in the Pillory, to be whipped from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and to pay a Fine of Five Hundred Marks. The Sentence, after *Johnſon* had been ſolemnly degraded, was executed with great Rigour. But his Writing made a ſtrong Impreſſion upon the Minds of both Officers and Soldiers, and very much promoted the great Defection which happened two Years after in the Army.

Johnſon a Clergyman addreſſes a Writing to the Army; for which he is ſentenced to be whipped, pilloried, and fined.

About the ſame time the Goldſmith *Miles Prance*, who had been a Witneſs againſt the Perſons tryed for the Murder of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*, and had taken away three Lives by his Evidence, was tryed upon an Information exhibited againſt him for *wilful* and

Miles Prance proſecuted.

* The ſame who wrote the Book called *Julian the Apoſtate*, which had given ſuch Offence to the Duke of *York* in the laſt Reign, and drawn upon the Author a ſevere Proſecution.

1686. and *malicious* Perjury, and ſentenced to pay a Fine of a Hundred Pounds, to ſtand three times in the Pillory, and to be whipped from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*. But becauſe he at firſt pleaded guilty, the whipping Part of the Sentence was remitted. Some have pretended that he was ſo intimidated by the Example of *Oates*, that he pleaded guilty merely to eſcape his Puniſhment. Others again have pretended to confirm his Confeſſion from a Declaration publiſhed by him afterwards, where he diſowned every thing which he had depoſed in 1678. But as he was a Papiſt, ſome have thought this Declaration was owing more to Religion than to Truth. In a Caſe of this Nature every Man is at Liberty to form his own Conjectures.

The King is buſy to gain Proſelytes.

It was eaſy to diſcover from the King's whole Conduct that he had entirely pulled off the Mask, and was deſirous to have it thought that he had an Intention of bringing over his whole Kingdom to the *Roman-Catholick* Religion. And of this no body had any doubt. His Promiſe made to the Council and Parliament of maintaining the Proteſtant Religion was entirely forgot, and no Perſon about him had the Boldneſs to remind him of it. It was even dangerous to ſpeak of it in publick Converſations for fear of ſome miſchievous Conſequence. Nor was he contented with his publick Labours for the Propagation of his Religion, but even in private he uſed all his Endeavours to make Proſelytes, chiefly amongſt his Courtiers, and Perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Quality. He ſucceeded in his Attempt upon the Earl of *Sunderland*, who was willing to give him this Proof of his Devotion for him, though for ſome private Reaſons he refuſed to make a publick Abjuration.

The Earl of Sunderland *turns Papiſt.*

The Earl of Rocheſter *refuſing to become a Papiſt,*

But he was not ſo ſucceſsful in his Attack upon his Brother in-law the Earl of *Rocheſter*. For though that Nobleman conſented to be preſent at a Conference held by Divines of both Religions, the Diſpute it ſeems only attached him more firmly to the Proteſt-

teſtant Religion, which he bravely refuſed to forſake. The King mortified by his Firmneſs, took from him the Treaſurer's Staff, and put the Treaſury into Commiſſion. But at the ſame time he aſſigned him a Penſion of Five Thouſand Pounds *per Annum* upon the *Poſt-Office*. The Earl of *Clarendon* his Brother felt likewiſe the Effects of the King's Diſpleaſure upon the ſame Account. After having been recalled from his Government of *Ireland* before the time, he had, towards the Concluſion of this Year, the Privy-Seal taken from him, which was given to the Lord *Arundel*, a Papiſt.

1686.

Is removed from being Treaſurer.

The Earl of Clarendon *diſplaced.*

At laſt the King gave an unqueſtionable Proof of his Zeal for the Popiſh Religion, by ſending the Earl of *Caſtlemain* in Embaſſy to the Pope, *To reconcile the Three Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *to the* Holy See, *from which for more than an Age they had fallen off by the* Northern Hereſy. The Ambaſſador was received at *Rome* with a Coldneſs which gave the King a ſenſible Mortification. *Innocent* XI, who then ſate in the Chair, not dazzled by this outward Shew, reflected that the Embaſſy was too much precipitated, as the Converſion of the Three Kingdoms was yet far from being finiſhed, and therefore he was reſolved to be no Actor in a Farce which would only render him ridiculous. And indeed to pretend to reconcile Three Kingdoms to the Church of *Rome*, upon no better Aſſurance than a ſmall Number of late Converſions, was it not to expoſe the Pope, the King, and the Catholick Religion to the Mirth and Inſults of their Enemies? This Embaſſy was owing, it is ſaid, to the Influence of the Jeſuits, who would have all *Europe* believe that they had converted the Three Kingdoms. But *Innocent* XI was not ſo fond of the Jeſuits, as to give them Satisfaction at the Expence of his own Reputation. Beſides, being engaged in a Quarrel with *France*, and ſenſible of the cloſe Union that was between *Lewis* XIV and *James* II, he was pleaſed with giving this Mortification to *Lewis*, in the Perſon of his Friend and Brother of *England*.

The Earl of Caſtlemain *ſent Ambaſſador to the Pope:*

Is coldly received.

1686 To this was owing his Treatment of the Ambaſſador with ſo much Coldneſs, not to ſay, Incivility. As often as he was willing to grant him an Audience, his *Holineſs* had a Fit of Coughing at command, which ſpoiled the Ambaſſador's Harangue, and obliged him to withdraw. This was ſo frequent, that at laſt the Earl of *Caſtlemain* threatned to be gone. The Pope made no other Reply, but, *That ſince he would be gone, it was his Advice to him to riſe early in the Morning, and reſt himſelf at Noon; for in thoſe Countries it was dangerous to travel in the Heat of the Day.* All the Favour the Ambaſſador could obtain from the Pope was a Licence to the Marſhal *d'Humiere*'s Daughter to marry her Uncle, and a Diſpenſation of the Statutes of the Jeſuits Order, that Father *Petre* might enjoy a Biſhoprick. It was ſaid that the Archbiſhoprick of *York* was kept vacant for him. But if the Pope and the greateſt Part of the Cardinals received the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador with Coldneſs, the Jeſuits made him ſome amends by all the Reſpect paid him that lay in their Power. At laſt the King recalled him, unable to bear ſo many Mortifications.

All Places beſtowed upon Papiſts.

However the ill Succeſs of this Embaſſy diſcouraged not the King from purſuing his Deſign with ſuch Ardour and Openneſs, that it could not be miſtaken. Not only all vacant Preferments were beſtowed upon Papiſts, but, without any reaſon given, Proteſtants were deprived of their Places to make way for Papiſts. So that all the World eaſily ſaw that none beſides Papiſts, or Proteſtants indifferent to all Religion, could pretend to any Employments. The Court was ſo open in their Meaſures, that ſome of the chief Papiſts could not forbear repreſenting to the King, that his Proceedings threatned more harm than benefit to their Religion. But the King was deaf to all ſober Counſels, and liſtened only to the Suggeſtions of his own fiery Zeal. One may ſee in the following Letter, writ the 2d of *February* 1684, from a Jeſuit of *Liege* to a Jeſuit of *Fribourg*,

Fribourg, the King's Diſpoſition with regard to Religion. 1686-7.

Letter from a Jeſuit of Liege.

" It is wonderful to ſee King *James*'s great Affection to our Society: He wiſhed Proſperity to all this College, by the Reverend Father, the Provincial, and earneſtly recommended himſelf to our Prayers. Upon Father *John Keynes*'s Return to *England*, he gave him a moſt gracious Reception, (while Earls and Dukes were commanded for ſome Hours to wait for Admittance,) with whom in the Queen's Preſence, he diſcourſed with all Familiarity. He asked him, *How many Candidates for Orders he had, and how many Students?* And upon the Provincial's Anſwer to his Majeſty, who was urgent with him, *That of the former, and the latter he had above Fifty*; he replied, *There would be Occaſion for double or treble that Number, to effect what he deſigned for that Society's Performance*; and ordered that they ſhould be all exerciſed in the Art of Preaching: *For now*, ſays he, *England has need of ſuch.*

" I do not doubt but you have heard, that the King writing to Father *de la Chaiſe*, the *French* King's Confeſſor, concerning the Affairs of the Houſe among the *Walloons*, declared, That whatever was done to the *Engliſh* Fathers of that Houſe, he would look upon as done to himſelf. Father *Clare*, Rector of the ſame Houſe, being arrived at *London* to treat of that Matter, got an eaſy Acceſs to the King, and as eaſily gained his Point. The King himſelf forbad him to kneel and kiſs his Hand, according to Cuſtom, ſaying, *Reverend Father you have indeed once kiſſed my* Hand; *but if I had known then, as I do now, that you were a* Prieſt, *I would rather my Self, Father, have kneeled down and kiſſed your* Hand. After he had finiſhed his Buſineſs, in a Familiar Converſation, his Majeſty told this Father, *that he would either Convert* England, *or dye a Martyr*; *and he had rather dye the*

1686-7. " *next Day and convert it, than reign twenty Years pi-*
" *ouſly and happily, and not effect it.* Finally, he cal-
" led himſelf A SON OF THE SOCIETY, *of*
" *whoſe good Succeſs,* he ſaid, *he was as glad as of his*
" *own.* And it can ſcarcely be expreſſed how much
" Gratitude he ſhewed, when it was told him, *That*
" *he was made Partaker,* by the moſt Reverend our
" Provincial, *of all the Merits of the Society*; out of
" which he is to nominate one for his Confeſſor; but
" hitherto it is not known who it will be: Some re-
" port that it will be the Reverend Father the Pro-
" vincial, but ſtill there is no Certainty of that.
" Many are of Opinion, that Father *Edward R. Pe-*
" *tre,* who is chiefly in Favour with the King, will
" obtain an Archbiſhoprick, but more believe it will
" be a Cardinal's Cap. To him has been granted
" within this Month or two, all that Part of the Pa-
" lace, in which the King uſed to reſide when he was
" Duke of *York,* where there is not a Day, but you
" may ſee I know not how many Courtiers waiting
" to ſpeak to his *Eminence,* for ſo they ſay he is
" called. For the King adviſes with him, and with
" many Catholick Lords, who have the chief Places
" in the Kingdom, to find a Method to propagate
" the Faith without Violence. Not long ſince ſome
" of theſe Lords objected to the King, *That they*
" *thought he made too much haſte to eſtabliſh the Faith.*
" To whom he anſwered, *I am growing Old, and*
" *muſt take* LARGE STEPS; *elſe if I ſhould happen*
" *to dye, I might perhaps leave you in a worſe Condi-*
" *tion than I found you.* When they asked him, *Why*
" *then he was ſo little concerned about the Converſion of*
" *his Daughters, who were the Heirs of the Kingdom?*
" He anſwered, *God will take Care of that; leave the*
" *Converſion of my Daughters to me; do you by your*
" *Example, convert your Tenants and others to the*
" *Faith.*

" He has Catholick Lord-Lieutenants in moſt
" Counties; and we ſhall have ſhortly Catholick
" Juſtices of the Peace in almoſt all Places. We

" hope

" hope alſo, that our Affairs will have good Succeſs 1686-7.
" at *Oxford*. In the Publick Chappel of the Vice-
" Chancellor, who is a Roman-Catholick, there is
" always one of our Divines, who has converted
" ſome of the Students to the Faith. The Biſhop of
" *Oxford* himſelf ſeems to be a great Favourer of the
" Catholick Faith; he propoſed to the Council,
" Whether it did not ſeem to be Expedient, that at
" leaſt one College ſhould be granted to the Catho-
" licks at *Oxford*, that they might not be forced to
" ſtudy beyond Sea at ſuch great Expences; but it
" is not known what Anſwer he had. The ſame
" Biſhop having invited two of our Brethren, toge-
" ther with ſome of the Nobility, drank the King's
" Health to a certain Heretick Lord who was in
" Company, *wiſhing his Majeſty good Succeſs in all his*
" *Undertakings:* Adding alſo, *That the Religion of the*
" Proteſtants *in* England, *did not ſeem to him in a bet-*
" *ter Condition, than* Buda *was before it was taken;*
" *and that they were next to* Atheiſts *that defended that*
" *Faith.* Many embrace the true Religion, and four
" of the moſt conſiderable Earls have lately made
" publick Profeſſion of it. *Father Alexander Keynes*
" the Provincial's Nephew, to whom is committed
" the Care of the Chappel belonging to the Elector
" *Palatines*'s Envoy, is continually taken up in
" ſolving and anſwering the Queſtions of Hereticks,
" who doubt of their Faith, of whom you may ſee
" two or three together walking by the Chappel-
" Door, continually diſputing about ſome Point of
" Religion. As to Prince *George*, it is yet uncertain
" what Religion he profeſſes. We gradually begin
" to get Footing in *England*; we teach Human
" Learning at *Lincoln*, *Norwich*, and *York*; and at
" *Worceſter* we have a Publick Chappel, protected
" by a Guard of the King's Soldiers; and we are to
" buy ſome Houſes at *Wiggan* in *Lancaſhire*. The
" Catholick Intereſt grows very ſtrong; and at ſome
" Churches, granted to the Catholicks, upon Holy-
" Days there are often counted fifteen Hundred

1686-7. " preſent at the Sermon. At *London* alſo our Buſi-
" neſs is carried on with the ſame good Succeſs:
" Sermons are preached upon every Holy-Day, and
" there are ſo many that frequent the Chappels, that
" they are not big enough to hold them. Two of
" our Society, *Dormer* and *Bertue*, preach continually
" before the King and the Queen; Father *Richard*
" *Neville*, before the Queen Dowager, Father *Alex-*
" *ander Keynes*, in the Chappel aforeſaid; others in
" other Chappels. There are many Houſes bought
" in the *Savoy*, near *Somerſet-Houſe*, which is the
" Queen Dowager's Palace, towards erecting the
" firſt College in *London*, for about eighteen Thou-
" ſand Florins; and they are hard at Work to bring
" them to the Form of a College, that a School
" may be opened before *Eaſter*.

" A Catholick Lord-Lieutenant is ſhortly to go
" over to *Ireland*, becauſe the King cannot be ſatisfi-
" ed with any other, to eſtabliſh the Catholick
" Intereſt in that Kingdom. The Parliament will
" certainly ſit in this Month of *February*, of whom
" his Majeſty is reſolved to ask three Things: Firſt,
" That by a general Act all the Catholick Peers may
" be admitted to ſit in the Upper-Houſe: Secondly,
" That the *Teſt* may be aboliſhed: And Thirdly,
" which is the Chief Point, that all *Penal Laws* a-
" gainſt Catholicks ſhould be abrogated. And that
" he may the better obtain theſe Things, he deſigns
" to let them know, *That he is reſolved to turn out*
" *all thoſe who will not heartily Act for the obtaining*
" *of them; and likewiſe diſſolve the Parliament.* At
" which Reſolution ſome Hereticks being terrified,
" came to a certain Earl to adviſe him what might
" be done; to whom he anſwered, *The King's Mind*
" *is ſufficiently known; what he has once ſaid he will*
" *certainly perform: If you love your ſelves ſubmit to*
" *the King's Pleaſure.* There is to be a great Prepa-
" ration of War at *London*, and a Fleet of above a
" Hundred Men of War, is to be fitted out againſt
" the Spring, but againſt whom it is uncertain. The

" *Dutch*

"*Dutch* are under great Apprehenſions, but for what "Reaſon, although they are ſaid to make an Arma- "ment, Time will beſt diſcover." 1686-7.

The Jeſuits of *Fribourg* made no Scruple of ſhewing this Letter to ſeveral Perſons, who took Copies of it, and thus made it publick through *Switzerland*, and at *Geneva*. Doctor *Burnet* ſays he copied it from one in the Hands of Monſieur *Heidegger* a famous Profeſſor at *Zurick*. One of the Copies was ſent to Monſieur *Dickvelt* Ambaſſador of the *States-General* in *England*, who ſpoke of it to the King. The King deſired to ſee it, ſaying, that he ſhould ſoon know whether it was genuine or forged, to render the Jeſuits odious. But though it was put into his Hands, he ſpoke no more of it to Monſieur *Dickvelt*.

The Parliament prorogued.

The Parliament, which according to the laſt Prorogation was to meet the 15th of *February*, was farther prorogued. In all Appearance, the King found not Things in the Diſpoſition he deſired, to be aſſured of the Concurrence of the Parliament for the Execution of his Deſigns. He choſe rather to take another Courſe, which to him ſeemed more ſhort and eaſy, and this was the Eſtabliſhing of Liberty of Conſcience by his own Authority. He was perſwaded, doubtleſs, that it would be more eaſy to obtain the Conſent of the Parliament to a Thing already done, than the Power to do it. But he thought it proper to begin with *Scotland*, that the Example of that Kingdom might help to Influence the *Engliſh*. For this Purpoſe he ſent a Proclamation into *Scotland* for a free and entire Liberty of Conſcience, with Orders to the Privy-Council to publiſh it. In his Opinion, this Proclamation was more than capable to convince all his good Subjects of his Moderation and Deſire to have all the World live in Quiet. He excluded nevertheleſs out of his Favour the *Field-Conventiclers*, whom he recommended to his Council to proſecute according to the utmoſt Severity of the Laws: This Proclamation contained in Subſtance:

1686 7.

The King publiſhes in Scotland a Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.

" That his Majeſty being reſolved to unite the " Hearts and Affections of all his Subjects, to God " in Religion, to him in Loyalty, and to their " Neighbours in Chriſtian Love and Charity; he " had therefore thought fit, by his *Sovereign Autho-* " *rity, Prerogative Royal, and Abſolute Power, which* " *all his Subjects were to obey without* RESERVE, to " give and grant his *Royal Toleration*, to the Profeſ- " ſors of the *Chriſtian* Religion after named. Firſt, " He allows and tolerates the *moderate Presbyterians*, " to meet in their private Houſes only; but it is his " Pleaſure that *Field-Conventiclers* be proſecuted ac- " cording to the utmoſt Severity of the Laws. In " like manner he tolerates *Quakers* to meet and ex- " erciſe in their Form, in any Place or Places ap- " pointed for their Worſhip." Then the Proclamation proceeds thus, " Conſidering the ſevere and " cruel Laws made againſt *Roman-Catholicks*, therein " called *Papiſts*, in the Minority of our Royal Grand- " father of glorious Memory, without his Conſent, " and contrary to the Duty of good Subjects, by his " Regents and other Enemies to their lawful Sove- " reign, our great Grand-Mother Queen *Mary*, of " bleſſed and pious Memory; wherein under the " Pretence of *Religion*, they cloathed the worſt of " Treaſons, Factions, and Uſurpations; and made " theſe Laws, not againſt the Enemies of God, but " their own: Which Laws have ſtill been continu- " ed of Courſe, without Deſign of executing them, " or any of them, *ad Terrorem* only, on Suppoſiti- " on, that the *Papiſts*, relying upon an external " Power, were incapable of Duty and true Allegi- " ance to their natural Sovereigns, and rightful Mo- " narchs: We of our certain Knowledge and long " Experience, knowing that the *Catholicks*, as it is their " Principle to be good Chriſtians, ſo it is to be du- " tiful Subjects; and that they have likewiſe on all " Occaſions ſhewn themſelves good and faithful Sub- " jects to us, and our Royal Predeceſſors, *&c.* Do

" therefore,

" therefore, with the Conſent of our Privy-Council, 1686-7.
" by our *Sovereign Authority*, *Prerogative Royal*, *and*
" *Abſolute Power* ſuſpend, ſtop, and diſable all
" Laws or Acts of Parliaments, made or executed
" againſt any of our *Roman-Catholick* Subjects, in
" any Time paſt, to all Intents and Purpoſes, mak-
" ing void all Prohibitions therein mentioned, Pains
" or Penalties therein ordained to be inflicted: So
" that they ſhall be in all Things as free in all Re-
" ſpects as any of our *Proteſtant*-Subjects whatſoever,
" not only to Exerciſe their Religion, but to Enjoy
" all Offices, Benefices, and others which we ſhall
" think fit to beſtow upon them in all Time com-
" ing. And whereas the Obedience of our Subjects
" is due to us by their Allegiance, and our Sove-
" reignty; and that no Law, Difference in Religi-
" on, or other Impediment whatſoever, can exempt
" the Subjects from their native Obligations to the
" Crown; and conſidering that *ſome Oaths*, are ca-
" pable of being wreſted by Men of ſiniſter Intenti-
" ons, a Practice in this Kingdom, as fatal to Reli-
" gion as Loyalty: We therefore caſs, annul, and
" diſcharge all *Oaths* whatſoever, by which any of
" our Subjects are incapacitated from holding Places
" or Offices in our Kingdom, diſcharging the ſame
" to be taken or given in any Time coming, with-
" out our Special Warrant and Conſent; and we do
" ſtop, diſable, and diſpence with all Laws, injoin-
" ing the ſaid *Oaths*, *Teſts*, or any of them, *&c.*"
Towards the Concluſion, the King reieterates for-
mer Promiſes in theſe Words: " For the Encou-
" ragement of our *Proteſtant* Biſhops, and the re-
" gular Clergy, and ſuch as have hitherto lived or-
" derly, we think it fit to declare, that it never was
" our Principle, nor will we ſuffer Violence to be
" offered to any Man's Conſcience, nor will we uſe
" Force, or invincible Neceſſity, againſt any Man
" on the account of his *Perſwaſion*; nor the *Proteſ-*
" *tant Religion*; but will protect our Biſhops and o-
" ther Miniſters, in their Functions, Rights, and

1686-7. "Properties, and all our *Proteſtant* Subjects, in the "free Exerciſe of their *Proteſtant* Religion in the "Churches."

Though this Proclamation had only reſpect to *Scotland*, yet it was thought proper to inſert it here, becauſe it diſcovers clearly the King's Intentions and Principles, and conſequently the Manner of Treatment which the *Engliſh* Subjects were to expect from him, though hitherto he kept within ſome Bounds, with regard to that abſolute Power, which *England* had not aſcribed to him in ſuch Extent, as had been done in *Scotland*.

1687. *The Council of* Scotland *publiſhes the King's Proclamation.*

The Council of *Scotland* blindly obeyed the King, not only by publiſhing his Proclamation, but even by Thanks for it, as for a ſignal Favour. This ought not to appear ſtrange, becauſe this Council was formed only of ſuch Men as were entirely devoted to the King; nor was there in *Scotland* one Man in a publick Employ, who was not, or at leaſt pretended not, to be in the ſame Principles, ſuch were the Members of Parliament, who by Acts paſſed had obliged all the *Scots* to an unlimited Obedience; ſo that no Man durſt oppoſe the King's Meaſures, under pain of High-Treaſon. Wherefore the Council, in returning Thanks to the King for his Proclamation, might with Aſſurance ſpeak for the whole Kingdom: Not that they were ignorant that the general Senſe of the Nation went another Way, but becauſe they well knew that no Perſon would have the Boldneſs to contradict it. It is not therefore to the whole *Scotch* Nation that this blind Obedience is to be imputed, but to their Governours who were but a ſmall Part of the whole.

The King publiſhes a like Declaration in England.

The King was charmed with the ready Compliance of the *Scots*, which he conſidered as a good Omen of the like Succeſs in *England*. He therefore ſummoned his Council, and acquainted them that his Intention was to publiſh the like Declaration in *England*. He grounded his Reſolution on a Remark he had made that the Attempt to eſtabliſh an Uniformity

mity in the four preceeding Reigns, was attended with only miſchievous Effects; and that beſides it was a Thing contrary to the Maxims of Religion and Humanity, to put a Force upon Men's Conſciences in Matters of Religion. The Council, much ſuch another as that in *Scotland*, approved of his Reſolution, and magnified extremely his Indulgence to his Subjects. The Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience was therefore publiſhed the 4th of *April*. It was much the ſame with that publiſhed in *Scotland*, excepting that the King was more reſerved in the Mention of his abſolute Power, ſaying, *that he made no Doubt of the Concurrence of his two Houſes of Parliament, when he ſhould think it convenient for them to meet*. It was nevertheleſs viſible from his frequent Prorogations of them, that he was far from being perſuaded of their Concurrence. 1687.

It is very probable, that there was not in the whole Nation, one ſingle Perſon who had a Thought that the King deſigned any Indulgence or Favour to the *Nonconformiſts*. All the World ſaw clearly that his Aim from this Declaration was to build the *Popiſh* Religion upon the Ruins of the *Proteſtant*. For how could any Man entertain a Thought that the King, from a violent Perſecutor, ſhould at once become a Friend to the Diſſenters? Or what Aſſurance could there be that his Promiſes to the *Nonconformiſts*, would be better kept than thoſe he had made to the Church of *England?* Nevertheleſs ſo great had been the Rigour with which the *Nonconformiſts* had hitherto been treated, that it ought not to ſurprize us that they at firſt thought themſelves happy in a Deliverance from Perſecution. This was the Reaſon of ſo many Addreſſes of Thanks, from the ſeveral Sects, for the King's gracious Declaration. The *Anabaptiſts* led the Way: The *Quakers* followed, and next came the *Independants*; and laſtly the *Presbyterians*. Some of theſe Addreſſes ſpeaking of the Royal Power ſtrained it beyond all Meaſure, becauſe it was then advantagious to the *Nonconformiſts* to maintain

Is thanked for it by the Nonconformiſts.

1687. tain a Power which had delivered them from the Conſtraint they had hitherto been under. The Members of the Church of *England* failed not to remark this Change: But they could with no good Grace blame an Exceſs into which themſelves had fallen. The Truth is, the two Parties neither did then, nor yet do follow their own Principles with Relation to the Royal Power, on all Occaſions; which they extend or contract, as the King is more or leſs favourable to them.

The King deſirous to diſunite the Proteſtants,

Be this as it will, the War then waged between the two Factions was of no long Continuance. They were immediately ſenſible, that the Court aimed to engage them in Quarrels, which could only be attented with equal Ruin to both. The King, to ſecure Succeſs to his Deſign, made the Hardſhips and Perſecutions which the *Nonconformiſts* had ſuffered from the Church of *England*, the common Topicks of his Diſcourſe in all Converſations. No greater Pleaſure could be done him, than to entertain him with the Particulars of thoſe Oppreſſions. To give the Church of *England* a ſtill more ſenſible Mortification, he ordered an Examination to be made into the Proceſſes which had been iſſued out of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts againſt the *Diſſenters*. But the *Presbyterians*, who were moſt concerned, were wiſe enough not to lay hold on ſo favourable an Occaſion to plague their Enemies. On the other Hand, though ſome hot and paſſionate Men amongſt the *Diſſenters* publiſhed virulent Invectives againſt the Church, to retaliate the ill Uſuage they had to complain of from her, yet the Epiſcopal Party, to a Man, reſolved to remain ſilent under their Reproaches, for fear of widening the Breach between the two Parties, at a Time when their Union was more than ever neceſſary. It cannot be denied that their Moderation and Prudence were here exemplary. In general it may be affirmed, that if ſome of the *Nonconformiſts*, *Presbyterians*, or others, ſuffered themſelves to be tranſported by their Paſſion into Inſults upon the Church of *England*,

is miſtaken in his Aim, and only puts them more upon their Guard.

England, yet they were Men of no Diſtinction. The moſt ſenſible and the moſt powerful amongſt them, preſerved great Moderation. The Epiſcopal Party on their Side, did all that lay in their Power to eſtabliſh Union, as the only poſſible Means for the Security of both Parties. Writings were publiſhed from time to time, in which the Writers, as Members of the Church of *England*, acknowledged their Errour in driving the *Presbyterians* to Extremities; confeſſed that they were not enough upon their Guard againſt the Artifices of the Court, and promiſed a very different Behaviour on the happy Re-eſtabliſhment of Affairs. It is true an Accuſation lies againſt them, of having been no leſs forgetful of this Promiſe, than of that made when the Reſtoration of *Charles* II was tranſacting. But this regards the following Reigns. 1687. *Their common Labours for an Union.*

But if there were *Nonconformiſts* who thought themſelves obliged to expreſs their Gratitude for the King's Declaration by flattering Addreſſes, there were likewiſe Biſhops who, with leſs Foundation, prevailed with their Clergy to ſend up Addreſſes of Thanks to the King as for a ſignal Favour done to the Church of *England*. Of this Number were *Crew* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Barlow* of *Lincoln*, *Cartwright of* Cheſter, *Wood* of *Lichfield*, *Watſon* of *St. David's*. As for *Parker* Biſhop of *Oxford* he was not ſo happy, ſince he could find but one Clergyman in his whole Dioceſe who complied with the Addreſs. It may eaſily be imagined that, had the King's Deſigns ſucceeded, theſe Biſhops would not have been the laſt to embrace the *Popiſh* Religion. *Some Biſhops go into the Deſigns of the Court.*

The Steps already made by the King for the Intereſts of the *Popiſh* Religion, were not thought ſufficient, by thoſe who aſpired to greater Advantages. Hitherto the *Papiſts* had not been able to procure any Preferments in either of the Univerſities, and nevertheleſs they were paſſionately deſirous to ſet up there *Maſters* and *Profeſſors* of their own Religion, for an Opportunity to get ſome of the Colleges *An Order to the Univerſity of* Cambridge *to admit a* Benedictine *Monk to the Degree of Maſter of Arts.*

1687. leges one Time or other into their Power. It had been propoſed to the King to found a College in either Univerſity. But whether the Expence diſcouraged him, or whatever was the Reaſon, it was thought more proper to introduce *Papiſts* into Colleges already founded. The Deſign was begun at *Cambridge*, where the Vice-Chancellor received a Letter from the King, commanding the Univerſity to admit to the Degree of Maſter of Arts one *Alban Francis*, a *Benedictine* Monk, without adminiſtring any Oath or Oarhs whatſoever, notwithſtanding any Statute or Law to the contrary, which the King was pleaſed to diſpenſe with in Favour of the ſaid *Alban Francis*. The Vice-Chancellor having communicated this Letter to the Congregation of *Regents* and *Non-Regents*. It was unanimouſly agreed by the Members not to admit the ſaid *Francis*, till the King had been petitioned to revoke the Mandate. For this Purpoſe they applied to the Duke of *Albemarle*, their Chancellor, praying his Interceſſion with the King, to which he returned for Anſwer, that he had tried but to no Effect. Upon this Anſwer the Univerſity ſent Deputies to *London*, who were to apply to the Earl of *Sunderland*, but he refuſed to hear them. Shortly after the King ſent a ſecond Letter to the Univerſity, the ſame in Subſtance with the former, with this Addition, *To do it at their Peril.* As the Univerſity continued ſtill to ſtand their Ground, a Summons was ſent from the new *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners*, commanding the Vice-Chancellor to appear in Perſon before them and the Congregation by themſelves, or their Deputies. In ſhort, by Sentence of the Court, the Vice-Chancellor was deprived of his Office; but however *Francis* was not admitted. This was the firſt avowed Attempt to introduce *Papiſts* into the Univerſity. I ſay *avowed*, for ſome might have crept in under the Pretence of being *Proteſtants*. But ſhortly after *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, the richeſt in Revenue, had a more terrible Storm to weather.

rejected.

The Vice-Chancellor deprived.

The

The Preſidentſhip of that College falling vacant the 31ſt of *March*, by the Death of Dr. *Clark*, the Vice-Preſident gave Notice for a new Election the 13th of *April*. But before that Day came, the Members of the College were informed that the King had granted a particular *Mandate* in Favour of Mr. *Anthony Farmer*, a Man of ill Reputation, and who had promiſed to declare himſelf a *Papiſt*. Upon this they preſented a Petition to the King, praying him either to leave them to the Choice of their Preſident, according to their Founder's Statutes, or to recommend a Perſon who might be more ſerviceable to his Majeſty, and to the College. The Anſwer received, through the Hands of the Earl of *Sunderland* was, *That the King muſt be obeyed.* Immediately after the King's *Mandate* was put into the Hands of Mr. *Charnock* * a new Convert and Fellow of the College. This *Mandate* having been read in the Preſence of all the Members, it was reſolved to keep to the Day which had been appointed for the Election, on which Day Dr. *Hough* was elected by a great Majority. The new Preſident was preſented to the *Viſitor*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who ſwore and admitted him to his Office. 1687. *The Affair of Magdalen College in Oxford.*

The King was exceedingly provoked with this Election, and notwithſtanding all that could be done by the Duke of *Ormond* Chancellor of the Univerſity, the Vice-Preſident and Fellows were cited to appear before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners at *Whitehall*. Accordingly, the 6th of *June*, ſix Fellows deputed by the Society, appeared before the Commiſſioners; and to the Queſtion, *why they refuſed to obey the King's Mandate*, they in Anſwer produced their Statutes, and the Oath which they had taken for the Obſervation of them; by which Statutes *Farmer* could have no Pretenſion. They were ordered to attend again the 22d of the Month, on which Day they gave

* The ſame who was executed in the Reign of King *William*, for being in a Plot for the Aſſaſſination of that Prince.

1687. gave in their Allegations againſt *Farmer*, who was otherwiſe unqualified by the Statutes, which were ſo well proved that the Commiſſioners themſelves were aſhamed of him. But as it was the King's Cauſe which they were maintaining, they deprived Dr. *Hough* of his Preſidentſhip, and ſuſpended the *Vice-Preſident* and one of the Fellows. The King having been informed of the Allegations againſt *Farmer*, thought fit to drop his firſt *Mandate*, and granted a ſecond in Favour of Dr. *Parker* Biſhop of *Oxford*.

The Fellows of the College found him no better qualified than *Farmer*, and in a Word refuſed to obey this new *Mandate*. This ſo provoked the King that he went down to *Oxford*, reſolved at all Hazards to overcome their Obſtinacy: He ordered them before him, and ſpoke to them in Terms capable to have intimidated Men of leſs Firmneſs and Reſolution. He bid them be gone, and admit the Biſhop of *Oxford* their Preſident, letting them know that otherwiſe *they ſhould feel the Weight of his Diſpleaſure*. But inſtead of obeying, they offered a Petition in which they juſtified their Proceedings: But the King would not receive it. At laſt, after all his Menaces, he ſaw himſelf obliged to quit *Oxford*, without having gained his Point. Shortly after, the King appointed a Commiſſion to viſit the College, delegated to *Cartwright* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Sir *Robert Wright* Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, and Sir *Thomas Jenner* a Baron of the *Exchequer*. Theſe Commiſſioners treated the Fellows with ſuch Rudeneſs, that they abſtained not even from ſcurrilous and abuſive Language. At laſt ſeeing that it was not poſſible to vanquiſh them, they found out a Sort of a *Salvo* for the King's Honour, by an ambiguous Declaration to which the Fellows were willing to ſubmit. But this not ſatisfying the King, who, the Commiſſioners ſaid, expected ſome *farther Submiſſion*, they were adviſed by them to make one, "By acknowledge-"ing their Contempt to his ſacred Majeſty in Per-"ſon, and to his Letters; that they ſhould promiſe

"to

" to behave themſelves loyally for the future; that 1687.
" they ſhould own the Proceedings and Legality
" of the Court, implore his Majeſty's Pardon, and
" lay themſelves at his Feet; and that they ſhould
" declare their entire Submiſſion to the Biſhop of
" *Oxford* as their Preſident". Of Twenty-ſeven Members of the College, only *Charnock* and another complyed with this Propoſal. At laſt the Commiſ- *The Fellows expelled.*
miſſioners impowered by the King, deprived the Twenty-five, who had refuſed to ſign the Declaration, of their Fellowſhips and Freeholds, and expelled them from the College, for Diſobedience to the King's Mandate. They all proteſted againſt the Sentence, declaring, *They would uſe all juſt and legal Ways of being relieved.* The Sentence nevertheleſs was confirmed by the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, and aggravated by declaring the Preſident and Fellows incapable of being admitted to any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity or Benefice: The Preſident refuſed to put the Biſhop of *Oxford* in Poſſeſſion of his Lodgings, and therefore the Door was broke open. All the College was filled with Papiſts, and *Charnock* was made *Vice-Preſident*. Though this Affair held from the Beginning of *June* to the End of *October*, I was willing to lay it all together to finiſh the Narrative at once.

The King diſcovered on all Occaſions his extraor- *The King earneſt to make Converts.*
dinary Zeal for the Advancement of his Religion: but principally in the Diſpoſal of all Places and Offices in his Gift. For ſome time he ſcarce gave any *Gives all Places to Papiſts.*
Places but to thoſe who were willing to purchaſe them by changing their Religion; and he often took them from thoſe who teſtified a Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, all paſt Services or Offences being forgot. Many of thoſe who had been moſt active for the *Bill of Excluſion* were careſſed and courted, provided they were willing to embrace the King's Religion, of which the Earl of *Sunderland* was an Inſtance. But an Adherence to the Proteſtant Religion was a ſufficient Cauſe to remove thoſe who had done him the moſt important Services in that Affair,

1687. as was seen in his Brothers-in-law the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Rochester*. The Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who some Years before had come over to the Protestant Religion, had his Regiment of Horse taken from him, for refusing to return to Popery. The Lords-Lieutenants of Counties were almost all Papists. As to the Judges some were Papists, and the rest, though Protestants, were Men disposed to obey whatever the King commanded. If any one of them was troubled with any Scruples, he was immediately displaced, to make way for one who was more complying. These mercenary Judges when they went their Circuits, received Orders from the Chancellor to use all their Authority for confirming the Right assumed by the King of dispensing with Laws, and for discouraging all whom they found of incompliant Tempers. These Orders were executed with extreme Rigour and Insolence.

The Judges are his Tools.

All the World saw clearly the Tendency of these Measures; for the King was open and undisguised. Notwithstanding all this, even some Lawyers affected to approve every thing done by him, and by their Addresses to encourage him to proceed. To shew to what excess the Flattery of some was pushed, I shall here insert an Address presented to the King the 11th of *June*, from the Society of the *Middle-Temple*.

" *May it please your Majesty,*

The Address from the Middle-Temple.

" WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal
" Subjects, to our great Joy, have received
" a happy Occasion of making this Declaration of
" our Gratitude: And as we know that your Ma-
" jesty's Goodness is the greatest that ever was shewn
" by a Prince to his Subjects; so we wish the Voice
" of Men and Angels, to return sufficient Thanks
" for your Majesty's Condescension and Clemency
" to all your Subjects, in your *gracious Declaration*
" *for a Toleration*. And as for this Compassion and

" Goodneſs, Thanks ought to be paid your Majeſty 1687.
" by all your Subjects; ſo we eſpecially of the Pro-
" feſſion of the Law, have reaſon to be thankful
" for the Honour you have done us, by aſſerting
" your own *Royal Prerogative*, which is the very
" Life of the Law, and our Profeſſion. Which
" *Prerogatives*, as they were given by God himſelf,
" ſo we declare, That no Power on Earth can di-
" miniſh them, but they muſt always remain entire
" and inſeparable to your Royal Perſon. Which
" *Prerogatives*, as we have ſtudied to know them, ſo
" we are reſolved to defend them, by aſſerting with
" our Lives and Fortunes, that Divine Maxim, *A*
" *Deo Rex*, *A Rege Lex*. And now as a Teſtimony
" of our perfect Satisfaction in this our Addreſs and
" Acknowledgement, we have ſubſcribed our Names,
" that your Majeſty may know us to be YOURS;
" and that the reſt of our Profeſſion may follow our
" Example: And therefore we beg your Majeſty
" will accept this Addreſs from us, who in Con-
" cluſion make bold to offer our beſt Wiſhes, and
" hearty Deſires, that your Majeſty's Councils may
" proſper in Wiſdom, your Kingdoms flouriſh in
" Peace, and your Royal Perſon enjoy a long, hap-
" py, and glorious Reign over us."

The King farther prorogues the Parliament.

With all this the King was unſucceſsful in one Affair which he earneſtly laboured, and had moſt at heart, and that was the Bringing over the Members of Parliament to approve, in a Body, the Power pretended to by him of diſpenſing with the Laws. The Parliament was to have met the 28th of *April*, and all the World expected it accordingly. But the King, not finding Things in the Diſpoſition he deſired, had again prorogued it to the 22d of *November*. Some Days before this Prorogation a Pamphlet had been diſperſed through the City, with deſign to give the Parliament a diſadvantagious Idea of the King, on Suppoſition that they were juſt going to ſit. Here is a ſhort Extract out of this Pham-

1687. phlet, which was ascribed to Dr. *Burnet*, who was then in *Holland*.

A Libel against the King.

"Our King has given such Testimonies of his "*Zeal* for his *Religion*, that we see among all his "other Royal Qualities, there is none for which he "desires and deserves to be so much admired, since "even the Passion of *Glory*, of making himself the "Terrour of all *Europe*, and *Arbiter* of *Christendom*, "(which as it is natural to all Princes, so must it "be most particularly so to one of his martial and "noble Temper) yields to his *Zeal* for his *Church*; "and that He, in whom we might have hoped to "see our *Edward* the Third, our *Henry* the Fifth "revived, chuses rather to merit the heightning his "Degree of Glory in another World, than to ac-"quire all the Conquests that this low and vile "World can give him: And that, instead of making "himself a Terrour to his Neighbours, he is con-"tented with the humble Glory of being a *Terrour* "*to his own People*; so that instead of the great Fi-"gure this Reign might make in the World, all "the News of *England*, is now only concerning the "Practices on some fearful *Mercenaries*."

The King closets several Members of Parliament to gain them over to him;

In the mean time the King continued his Application for gaining the Members of Parliament. He *closetted*, one by one, all that were in *London*, and laid before them every thing which he thought capable to convince them of the Necessity there was to abolish the *Penal* Laws for the good of the Kingdom; and inforced his Arguments with Menaces and Promises. It is not improbable but some might be brought over to the King's Sentiments, but with all his Art and Address he could not move the Steadiness of the Majority. This ill Success determined him at last to dissolve this Parliament, which he did by Proclamation the Second of *July*.

and at last dissolves the Parliament.

When

1687.

When one compares the Firmneſs of the Members of this Parliament, when they believed the Intereſts of Religion were at ſtake, with their extreme Zeal for the King in the Beginning of their Seſſion, it muſt be inferred that their Condeſcendence was owing purely to their miſtaken good Opinion of him, and that their Firmneſs now was owing to their Recovery from that Miſtake. It is therefore without Foundation, that they are charged with a Deſign of ſacrificing to the King the Intereſt of Religion and their Country. The contrary manifeſtly appeared in the Reſiſtance made by them to the Temptations which the King laid before them, and this even in his Preſence, and Face to Face. This, in my Opinion, is the higheſt Degree to which Reſolution can be carried. They were all, or the far greateſt Number of them, Members of the Church of *England*; nay, for the moſt part *High-Church-Men*. I have before given the Reaſon of their exceſſive Zeal for, and Condeſcendence to the King, and therefore need not repeat it here. But when they diſcovered that the Keeping under the *Non-conformiſts* was no longer the Buſineſs, but that the King's Deſigns ſtruck at the Proteſtant Religion in general, without any Diſtinction of Sects, they proved beyond all Contradiction that they were not leſs zealous Proteſtants than thoſe who accuſed them of being Papiſts, or popiſhly inclined. This Truth will afterwards more evidently appear in the firm and unſhaken Courage of the Members of the Church of *England*, on the moſt important Occaſion that ever was.

The Members of the laſt Parliament vindicated from an Accuſation.

After the Parliament was diſſolved, the King's great Affair was to have a new one entirely at his Devotion. But he would not call one till he was aſſured of having ſuch Members returned, as himſelf thought proper. For this purpoſe *Quo Warranto's* were iſſued out againſt divers Corporations, to the End that when they were deprived of their *Charters*, the King by a Grant of new ones might make himſelf Maſter of the Elections. It will eaſily

Quo Warranto's iſſued out againſt divers Corporations.

1687. be imagined, that as the Courts of Juſtice then ſtood affected, no ſcruple would be made to deprive Corporations of their Charters, who for the obtaining of new ones would be obliged to comply with every Meaſure of the King. This was one of the Methods made uſe of by the King to diſpoſe the People for the Election of ſuch Members as would concur with his Deſign of taking off the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts*. It would be too tedious and difficult to unravel all the ſecret Conduct in this Affair, to tell what, and how many Emiſſaries were diſpatched down to Counties and Corporations, what were their Inſtructions, what the Arguments, Promiſes, and Menaces by which they were to perſuade or intimidate the People. All that can be ſaid in general is, that nothing was forgot which was thought any way neceſſary by the King to his great End of having a Parliament returned favourable to his Deſigns. For this Magiſtrates and Lord-Lieutenants were diſplaced, but chiefly particular Men were *cloſetted* to engage them in the King's Meaſures. It was likewiſe with this view that he made a Progreſs through divers Counties, and ſtopped at the Cities and great Towns to cajole or intimidate the People. But he met with ſuch Coldneſs, or rather Reluctance to his Deſigns, every where, that he durſt not hazard the calling of a Parliament. As the People were convinced that his Deſign, whatever were the ſpecious Pretences, with which it was covered, was the Subverſion of Liberty and Religion, they would not be the Tools and Inſtruments of their own Ruin. The Affair of *Magdalen Colledge*, which was in its greateſt Heat while he was upon his Progreſs, contributed not a little to open the Eyes of the moſt Blind, and to exaſperate the Nation. The King would have a Parliament which ſhould conſent to the Abrogation of the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*, or however, grant him a Power of diſpenſing with them, at a time that his whole Conduct diſcovered a formed Deſign of planting the *Popiſh* upon the Ruin of the *Proteſtant* Religion.

The King's Practices to obtain a favourable Parliament.

ligion. Beſides, it was manifeſt that he did not ask this Power as a Favour, but inſiſted upon it as a Right, which he had already aſſumed, without the Concurrence of the Parliament. 1687.

The Publick Entry of the Pope's Nuncio at Windſor.

At laſt the King ſhewed ſo open a Contempt of the Law, that no Perſon could miſtake him. After, as we have ſeen, he had ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Rome*, he would have a *Nuncio* in ordinary reſiding at his own Court. The Pope had the Year before nominated *Ferdinand Dada* to this Poſt, who was Domeſtick Prelate to his Holineſs, had been always about the King's Perſon ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown, and was the Queen's intimate Favourite. He had been received in this Quality, but privately, and without any knowledge of the People. But now the King having pulled off the Mask, was for honouring him with a publick Reception, though the aſſuming the Character of the Pope's *Nuncio* was High-Treaſon by the Laws of the Land. To give more Luſtre to the *Nuncio*, he was firſt conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Amaſia* in the Royal Chapel, after which he made his publick Entry at *Windſor*, with great Pomp and Magnificence. This was a Sight ſufficiently aſtoniſhing to *Proteſtants*, to ſee a *Nuncio* from the Pope clothed in his Pontifical Habits, preceeded by a Croſs-Bearer, and a Train of Prieſts and Monks, in the Habits of their reſpective Orders. Nevertheleſs, even on this Occaſion the King received a Mortification which he little expected; for having ordered the Duke of *Somerſet* to attend the *Nuncio* to his Audience, he deſired his Majeſty to excuſe him from an Office which the Laws of the Land made Criminal. This ſo incenſed the King againſt him, that he took from him his Places of Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and Colonel of the Dragoons. The Duke of *Grafton*, leſs ſcrupulous, accepted the Office refuſed by the Duke of *Somerſet*. Some have believed that *Dada* was one of thoſe who had the principal Influence over the King in Affairs of Religion. But it is not at all likely that he would act in ſo much

3d of July.

1687. much Oppoſition to the Sentiments of the Pope, who by no means approved the King's Conduct. We cannot ſay ſo much for Father *Petre* or *Peters*, who was Confeſſor to the King, and as it were the firſt Mover of all the Wheels which ſet the *Popiſh* Machine a going. He was publickly received into the Council the 11th of *November*, contrary to the Sentiments of the moſt eminent Papiſts, who with reaſon feared the King's Affairs would receive no Benefit by ſuch a Promotion.

Father Petre received into the Council.

The King receives favourably the diſtreſſed Proteſtants from France.

Though the King had given convincing Marks of his Averſion to the *Proteſtant* Religion, yet he was not wanting to give a favourable Reception to the *French Proteſtants*, who took Sanctuary in *England* on account of the Rigours exerciſed againſt them in *France*. He not only gave them his Protection, but his Charity in a diſtinguiſhed Manner, beſides his Licence to encourage a publick Collection. Some aſcribed this to a Strain of his Policy, by which he would intimate to the *Engliſh* how little ground they had to fear ſuch Treatment in *England*, from him who was ſo charitably compaſſionate to the Misfortunes of Foreigners perſecuted in their own Country. But as the King himſelf did not diſcover the Motives of this Conduct, there is no ſpeaking of them but by Conjecture. Thus much is certain, that the *French* Miniſters thought themſelves under ſuch Obligations to the King, that they were amongſt the moſt Forward to diſplay his Virtues in their Sermons, whenever an Occaſion offered. I my ſelf remember to have heard a Preacher in the Church of the *Savoy* launch out into the profaneſt Flattery.

Death of the Duke of Buckingham.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, who now made a contemptible Figure, dyed this Year in *Yorkſhire*, juſt as he had lived, that is to ſay, without any Senſe of Religion. This ſame Year Death likewiſe took away the famous Sir *William Petty*, Phyſician and Fellow of the Royal Society, after having publiſhed ſeveral uſeful and valuable Writings.

I am

I am now entering upon the Year 1688; a Critical Year to *England*, the firſt half of which protended nothing to the *Engliſh* but the Loſs of their Religion and Liberty. *James* II had carried on his great Work in the three Years that he had filled the Throne, with amazing Rapidity and Succeſs. He had inveſted himſelf with a Power ſo abſolute, that it almoſt brooked no Contradiction. The Laws of the Land were openly trampled upon. The Privy-Council was almoſt wholly *Popiſh*, and under the Direction of a Jeſuit. The moſt conſiderable Places in the Court and Kingdom were put into the Hands of Men of the ſame Religion. The *Teſt* and *Penal Laws* were Fences now too feeble to ſecure Religion, for which they were intended. In a Word, the King was reſolved to compleat his Work let what would be the Conſequence, and an Army of fifteen Thouſand Men encamped within a few Miles of *London*, beſides the Succours which he might in an exigency expect from *France*, ſeemed to promiſe him undoubted Succeſs. But a Thing ſtill more extraordinary was, the fulſome Addreſſes of Thanks to the King from *Proteſtant* Corporations, as if his rude Attacks upon their Religion had been a Favour; and their Promiſes of returning ſuch Members for the enſuing Parliament, as ſhould be compliant to his Meaſures. All this gave juſt Ground to fear, that no Remedy would be found for the Miſeries which the Nation groaned under, and which daily grew worſe. The only Refuge which ſeemed left to flatter Men's Hopes was, that the Princeſs of *Orange*, preſumptive Heir of the Crown, like another *Elizabeth*, would reſettle Things on their antient Foundation when ſhe ſhould aſcend the Throne. But beſides that the King, who was but in his fiftieth Year *; might yet hold out a great while, a ſtunning Proclamation, to notify the Queen's being with Child, with an Order of ſolemn

1687-8. *The King puſhes his Deſigns.*

The Queen with Child.

*King *James* was born the 14th of *October* 1633, conſequently he was now in his 55th Year.

1688. Thanks publiſhed the 2d of *January*, entirely extinguiſhed all ſuch Hopes.

The *Papiſts* were tranſported with this agreeable News. Some even began to diſpute the Princeſs of *Orange*'s Right to the Succeſſion, ſhould the Child prove a Princeſs, as the latter would be born while the Father was on the Throne, who was only Duke of *York* at the Birth of the former. But this Queſtion was needleſs, all the World was confident, the Papiſts through Hope, and the Proteſtants through Fear, that the Queen would be delivered of a Prince.

Suſpicions thereupon. It is very certain that the Proteſtants from this Time began to form Suſpicions about the Queen's Pregnancy. This appeared from ſeveral Pamphlets diſperſed through *London*, and ſome of them even dropped in *White-hall*. Hitherto the Foundation of the Suſpicion, that the Queen's Pregnancy was falſe, ſtood only in her having been now ſo many Years without Children. But this Foundation was too weak to give any real Strength to the Suſpicion. It was by no means impoſſible for the Queen to be with Child; but on the other Hand, neither was it impoſſible but ſhe might have a Thought of ſubſtituting a wrong Heir to the Prejudice of the right. The extreme Zeal of both King and Queen for their Religion, and that of the Majority in their Council and Confidence, rendered ſuch a Suſpicion plauſible to the Proteſtants. Hiſtories have recorded Inſtances of ſuch ſuppoſititious Births, as in *Spain*, and *England* it ſelf where it is pretended that Queen *Mary*, to deprive her Siſter *Elizabeth* of the Succeſſion, would have palmed an Heir upon the Crown, had not her Huſband *Philip* prevented it. This was the Reaſon that the Relation of Queen *Mary*'s Pregnancy formerly publiſhed by *Fox*, was reprinted and diſperſed through the Kingdom with this Title, *Idem Iterum*, or *Queen Mary's Big-Belly*. Another Cauſe which contributed greatly to corroborate this Suſpicion, was the Indiſcretion of ſome Jeſuits, who publiſhed that ſhe would certainly be delivered of a Prince. They pretended

that this Conception was miraculous, and the effect of a ſolemn Petition which the late deceaſed Dutcheſs of *Modena* had put up in Heaven to the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*; or of a Vow the Queen had made to our Lady of *Loretto*, with the Preſent of a Golden Image enriched with precious Stones. As the Pretence of the Queen's having been ſeveral Years without Children, could give no Warrant to the having it believed ſupernatural, there was no Neceſſity to aſcribe it to a Miracle, of which there could be no Certainty. Wherefore this needleſs Precaution ſerved only to confirm the Suſpicion. 1688. *A Miracle pretended.*

The Queen's Pregnancy produced a great many congratulatory Addreſſes. Some of theſe carried their Complements and Flattery to the laſt Exceſs. Nor was there any Thing ſurprizing in this. The Majority of Lord-Lieutenants, Juſtices, and Magiſtrates of the Towns, being compoſed of Perſons devoted to the King, it was no difficult Matter for them to perſwade the Corporations that ſuch Congratulations to the King were the juſt Tributes of their Duty. This being once inculcated, the drawing up of the Addreſs was left to them, who handed it about to ſuch Perſons as they thought proper to ſign it, and ſo made the Addreſſers ſay juſt what themſelves pleaſed. Were Addreſſes to be looked on as Conveyances of the real Sentiments of the People, it might be ſaid that all the *Engliſh* Nation overflowed with Joy in the tranſporting Hopes of a *Popiſh* Succeſſor. But the Nation in a very little Time diſcovered other Sentiments: And beſides it clearly appeared that the King relied but little upon this general Concurrence of his Subjects, ſince it could not incourage him to call a Parliament, where Approbation and Complyance were the great Object of his Deſires. *The King congratulated by numerous Addreſſes.*

Beſides the Methods before taken notice of, which the King put in Practice to haſten the Advancement of the *Popiſh* Religion, there was ſtill another from which he promiſed himſelf great Succeſs. For ſome Time *Books of Controverſy publiſhed.*

1688. Time the *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits had printed and diſperſed a great Number of Controverſial Writings, which had been anſwered by *Tillotſon*, *Tenniſon*, *Stillingfleet*, *Sherlock*, and others, in a manner which to all Appearance, was by no means agreeable to the *Papiſts*. The King apprehenſive, without all doubt, that his Doctors would be unable to maintain their Ground againſt thoſe of the Church of *England*, put out a Proclamation, grounded upon a Statute made the 14th of *Charles* II, "prohibiting the printing "and ſelling all unlicenſed and treaſonable Books "and Pamphlets, under the Pains and Penalties pro- "vided by the ſaid Act." Under this Name were comprehended Controverſial Books publiſhed by *Proteſtants*, on a pretence that they encouraged and fomented Animoſities amongſt his Subjects.

Forbidden by the King.

Letters between Mr. Stuart and Fagel relating to the Teſt.

We have already ſeen that the King's great Deſign was to have the *Teſt-Act* and the *Penal Laws* againſt *Papiſts* repealed, and for that Reaſon was ſo deſirous to have a Parliament at his Devotion. He had already abrogated theſe Laws by his own Authority, but every Day made him ſenſible that this did little towards quieting the Minds of his Subjects to the Degree he deſired. He thought therefore that if the Conſent of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* could be obtained, this would be a great Step towards bringing the Parliament to the like Diſpoſition. To that End he had a Mind to have the Prince of *Orange* ſounded indirectly, without his ſeeming to have any Concern in it. For this purpoſe he made uſe of the Pen of Mr. *Stuart*, Penſionary *Fagel*'s Acquaintance, who writ to that Miniſter, endeavouring to perſwade him that it was the Intereſt of *England*, and of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, that the *Teſt* ſhould be abrogated, and the Laws made againſt *Roman Catholicks* repealed. This Letter coming only from a private Hand, was by the Prince thought unworthy an Anſwer from Mr. *Fagel*. Mr. *Stuart* vainly renewed his Inſtances for an Anſwer, till at laſt he was obliged to acquaint Mr. *Fagel*, that his

firſt

first Letter was by Direction of the King, who desired to have the Opinion of the Prince and Princess on this Subject. This joined to the false Report propagated in *London*, that the Prince and Princess of *Orange* had given their Consent to the Abrogation of the *Test* and *Penal Laws*, brought Mr. *Fagel* at last to a Necessity of answering Mr. *Stuart*, to let him know what were the Sentiments of the Prince and Princess of *Orange* concerning this Affair. 1688.

The Letters of these Gentlemen have made so much Noise in the World, and are so universally known, that I cannot think it necessary to give them entire. I shall content my self with just saying what will be sufficient to recall to the Reader's Mind the Substance of Mr. *Fagel*'s Answer. He told Mr. *Stuart*, "That the Opinion of the Prince and Princess "was, that the *Roman Catholicks* ought to enjoy a "full Liberty of Conscience, without being molest-"ed on account of their Belief. That if this only "was asked, the Prince and Princess freely gave "their Consent. That as to the *Non-Conformists*, "their Highnesses did not only consent, but hear-"tily approved of their having an entire Liberty of "Conscience, for the Exercise of their Religion, "without any Trouble, Hindrance, or Molestation "on that Score.——But their High-Mightinesses "could not by any means agree to the Repeal of the "*Test*, and those other *Penal Laws*, that tended to "the Security of the *Protestant* Religion, since the "*Roman Catholicks* received no other Prejudice from "these, than their being excluded from Parliament "and Publick Employments; and that by them the "*Protestant* Religion is sheltered from all the Designs "of the *Roman Catholicks* against it, or against the "Publick Safety."

This Answer was backed with Reasons so clear and solid, that Mr. *Stuart* finding himself too weak to hold out against such an Adversary, thought it his wisest Course to deny all Correspondence with Mr. *Fagel* on this Subject, and the writing or receiving

any

1688. any Letters from him. This was intended to deſtroy the Authority of Mr. *Fagel*'s Anſwer, which had been printed and diſperſed through *England* and all *Europe*. The *Penſionary* offended at this Prevarication, addreſſed himſelf in a Letter to the Marqueſs of *Alby Ville*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, in which he called him to Witneſs to the Sentiments of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, with relation to the *Penal Laws*, with which himſelf was perfectly acquainted, and had informed the King his Maſter. He complained of the Earl of *Sunderland* for having ſigned an *Allowance* to print a Pamphlet, which aſſerted, that the Anſwer of Mr. *Fagel* to Mr. *Stuart* was Suppoſititious, though he himſelf had the Original in his Hands, and knew that the King had likewiſe ſeen it. This laſt Letter was likewiſe printed in *French* and *Engliſh*, and diſperſed abroad. All this did extreme Injury to the King, and darted in a Ray of Hope upon the *Engliſh*, that the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* would not abandon them in their preſſing Neceſſity. It is to be remarked, that Mr. *Fagel*'s Letter to Mr. *Stuart* had been writ in *November*, the Year before, when the Publick had not been informed of the Queen's Pregnancy. But this Affair became not publick till the Beginning of the Year 1688.

The King earneſt to have a Parliament devoted to him.

The Refuſal of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* to conſent to the Abrogation of the *Teſt* and *Penal Laws*, only more inflamed the Zeal of the King, and obliged him to new Efforts for having a Parliament at his Devotion. He therefore diſpatched Emiſſaries down to the ſeveral Counties to make ſure of the Elections, before he durſt hazard the calling a Parliament. But the more ſollicitous he was to gain this Point, the leſs Inclination did he find in the People, who on an Occaſion ſo important, were not in the Humour to put their Intereſts into the Hands of Men devoted to the Court, as the King deſired. To this was owing that the King, foreſeeing all his Artifices would prove unſucceſsfull, and that he ſhould at laſt

be

be obliged to make uſe of Force, gave out Commiſſions for the Raiſing of new Troops, for the increaſing of his ſtanding Army, and likewiſe cauſed a larger Fleet to be fitted out. The new Commiſſions were almoſt all beſtowed upon *Iriſh* and *Popiſh* Officers. Moreover he wrote the 17th of *January* to the *States-General*, to demand the Return of the ſix *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments that were in their Service. The 2d of *March* he iſſued out a Proclamation, "Forbidding his natural born Subjects to enter or liſt themſelves in the Service of any Foreign Prince or State, either by Sea or Land."

1688. *Increaſes his Army and Fleet.*

Sends for his Troops out of Holland;

The *States* thought themſelves under no Obligations to ſend theſe Regiments to the King in the preſent Conjuncture. They returned a civil Anſwer, That having examined their Engagements, they could find no Agreement or Capitulation that could oblige them to grant his Majeſty's Demands, except when he was engaged in a War with ſome of his Neighbours, or ſhould have occaſion for theſe Troops to quell ſome Inſurrection at Home. That they had acquitted themſelves of this Obligation in the Year 1685, at the Time of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion. But that the King being now at Peace with his Neighbours, and free from Diſturbances at Home, they ſaw no Reaſon that could oblige them to ſend back thoſe Troops. The King not ſatisfied with this Anſwer, renewed his Inſtances. But the States laying before him the Occaſion on which thoſe Regiments were firſt formed, and the Treaties which had been made on this Subject, ſtood upon it that they were obliged to ſend them back only in the two Caſes above mentioned, and that the King was not at preſent in either. At laſt, after a third Attempt, as ſucceſsleſs as the two foregoing, the King by a Proclamation called home all his Subjects which were in the Service of the *States-General*. Upon this the Prince of *Orange* offered Paſſes to all the Officers of the ſix Regiments that were willing to return Home, which about forty of them accepted.

which are refuſed by the States.

Though

1688. Though the Year before the King had put out a Declaration for granting an entire Liberty of Conſcience to all his Subjects, and in Virtue of it had put all his Catholick Subjects into almoſt all Places in his Gift, he thought fit however to put out a ſecond upon the ſame Subject, the 27th of *April*. Perhaps he had a Mind to have it ſeen, that though he was deſirous of having what he had done confirmed by the Parliament, yet he could very well be without their Concurrence, and act by abſolute Power. Perhaps likewiſe he had a Deſign to bring Things to a Criſis, being inceſſantly puſhed on by his *Popiſh* Counſellors, who were unwilling to ſlip the Occaſion which the King's Zeal put into their Hands. Here follows his Declaration:

"*James Rex*,

A ſecond Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience

"OUR Conduct has been ſuch in all Times, as "ought to have perſwaded the World, that "we are firm and conſtant to our Reſolutions: Yet "that eaſy People may not be abuſed by the Ma"lice of crafty and wicked Men, we think it fit to "declare, that our Intentions are not changed ſince "the 4th of *April* 1687, when we iſſued out our "*Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience*, in the follow"ing Terms: (*here the Declaration was recited verba"tim, and then it follows*;) Ever ſince we granted this "*Indulgence*, we have made it our principal Care to "ſee it preſerved without Diſtinction, as we are en"couraged to do daily by a Multitude of *Addreſſes*, "and many other Aſſurances we receive from our "Subjects of all Perſwaſions, as Teſtimonies of their "Satisfaction and Duty; the Effects of which we "doubt not but the next Parliament will ſhew; and "that it will not be in vain, that we have reſolved "to uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to eſtabliſh *Liberty "of Conſcience*, on ſuch juſt and equal Foundations, as "will render it unalterable, and ſecure to all our Peo"ple the free Exerciſe of their Religion for ever;

by

" by which future Ages may reap the Benefit of 1688.
" what is ſo undoubtedly for the general Good of
" the whole Kingdom. It is ſuch a Security we de-
" ſire, without the Burthen and Conſtraint of *Oaths*
" and *Teſts*, which have unhappily been made by ſome
" former Governments; but could never ſupport any:
" Nor could Men be advanced by ſuch Means to
" Offices and Employments, which ought to be the
" Reward of Services, Fidelity, and Merit. We
" muſt conclude, that not only good Chriſtians will
" join in this, but whoever is concerned for the
" Wealth and Power of the Nation. It would, per-
" haps prejudice ſome of our Neighbours, who might
" loſe part of thoſe vaſt Advantages they now enjoy,
" if *Liberty of Conſcience* were ſettled in theſe King-
" doms, which are above all others moſt capable of
" Improvements, and of commanding the Trade of
" the World. In purſuance of this great Work, we
" have been forced to make many Changes both of
" Civil and Military Officers throughout our Domi-
" nions, not thinking any ought to be employed in
" our Service, who will not contribute towards eſta-
" bliſhing the Peace and Greatneſs of their Country,
" which we moſt earneſtly deſire, as unbiaſſed Men
" may ſee by the whole Conduct of our Govern-
" ment, and by the Condition of our Fleet, and of
" our Armies, which with good Management ſhall
" conſtantly be the ſame, and greater, if the Safety
" or Honour of the Nation require it. We recom-
" mend theſe Conſiderations to all our Subjects, and
" that they will reflect on their preſent Eaſe and Hap-
" pineſs, how for above three Years that it hath plea-
" ſed Almighty God to permit us to reign over
" theſe Kingdoms, we have not appeared to be that
" Prince, our Enemies would make the World a-
" fraid of; our chief Aim having been not to be the
" Oppreſſor but the Father of our People; of which
" we can give no better Evidence, than by conjuring
" them to lay aſide all private Animoſities, as well
" as groundleſs Jealouſies, and to chuſe ſuch Mem-

1688. "bers of Parliament, as may do their Parts to finish "what we have begun for the Advantage of the "Monarchy, over which Almighty God has placed "us; being resolved to call a Parliament, that shall "meet in *November* next at fartheſt".

An Order to the Bishops to see it read in all Churches and Chapels.

The King was not satisfied with publishing this Declaration in the usual Way, but thinking, without Doubt, that, in so important an Affair, extraordinary Formalities were to be observed, he issued out an Order of Council, enjoyning the Bishops to see it sent and distributed throughout their several Dioceses, to be read at the usual Time of Divine Service, twice in all Churches and Chapels on certain Days named in the Order. Some were of Opinion that the King had two Views in this Order. One was to mortify the Church of *England*, against which he had for some Time shewed the most angry Resentments. The other to lay the Bishops under a Necessity, either of making themselves in some Measure the Instruments of his Designs against the *Protestant* Religion, or of incurring the Penalties of their Disobedience in Case of a Refusal.

Several Bishops meet and debate about it.

Upon the Receit of this Order, some of the Bishops, who were in *London*, assembled at the Archbishop's Palace at *Lambeth*, to consult how they were to behave upon so perplexing an Occasion. For of Necessity, they were either by their Obedience to the King, to approve by their Conduct this Violation of the Laws, and so betray the Interests of the *Protestant* Religion; or by their Disobedience they were to draw down upon themselves the Penalties which, in all Appearance, would not fail to be inflicted. These Difficulties were debated in this Assembly with all the Care which so important an Affair required, after they had implored the divine Assistance by extraordinary Prayers. The Result of their Conference was, that it was better to obey God than Man, and that the Case being such, that they could not obey the King without betraying their own Consciences, they ought not to hesitate one Moment in resolving

ſolving to expoſe themſelves to the Storm which threatned them, rather than give up the Intereſts of God and his Church. This Reſolution was grounded upon four Conſiderations. 1. That many would juſtly judge the Clergy either Cowards or Hypocritical Time-Servers, in publiſhing what they thought illegal and illegally ſent to them. 2. That many who had Votes for Parliament-Men would take this for the Conſent of the Publiſhers, and be ſtrengthened in the chooſing ſuch Men as ſhould be Friends, not only to the *Indulgence*, but to the Foundation of it, the *diſpenſing Power*. 3. That the World would have Reaſon to take their Publication for an *Approbation*, becauſe there could be no other Intention in ordering it to be publiſhed, but to make the Clergy *Parties* to it. 4. That after this they muſt expect farther Things to be publiſhed by them, at which they muſt make a Stand; and their making a Stand when they had loſt their Reputation would be of no Force. 1688.

They petition the King to be excuſed from ſending it to their Clergy.

Purſuant to this Reſolution, the conſulting Biſhops before they parted drew up a Petition, and after having ſigned it, the ſame Day, being the 18th of *May*, they croſſed the Water to *Whitehall* to preſent it to the King, without acquainting any one Perſon with their Deſign. Their Names were *Sancroft* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Lloyd* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, *Kenn* of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Turner* of *Ely*, *Lake* of *Chicheſter*, *White* of *Peterborough*, *Trelawny* of *Briſtol*. Their Petition ran thus:

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of William *Archbishop of* Canterbury *and divers of the Suffragan Bishops of that Province, now present with him, in Behalf of themselves and others of their absent Brethren, and of the inferior Clergy of their respective Dioceses.*

Humbly sheweth,

" THAT the great Averseness they find in " themselves to the distributing and publishing " in all their Churches your Majesty's late *Declara-* " *tion*, for *Liberty* of *Conscience*, proceeds neither " from any want of Duty and Obedience to your " Majesty, (our holy Mother the Church of *Eng-* " *land* being both in her Principles and her constant " Practice unquestionably loyal, and having to her " great Honour, been more than once, publickly " acknowledged to be so by your gracious Majesty;) " nor yet from any want of Tenderness to *Dissenters*, " in Relation to whom we are willing to come to " such a Temper as shall be thought fit, when the " Matter shall be considered and settled in Parlia- " ment and Convocation: But among many other " Considerations, from this especially, because that " *Declaration* is founded upon such a *Dispensing* " *Power*, as hath been often declared illegal in Par- " liament, and particularly in the Years 1662, and " 1672. And in the Beginning of your Majesty's " Reign; and is a Matter of so great Moment and " Consequence to the whole Nation, both in Church " and State, that your *Petitioners* cannot in Pru- " dence, Honour or Conscience, so far make them- " selves *Parties* to it, as the Distribution of it all " over the Nation, and the solemn Publication of

" it

" it once and again, even in God's Houſe and in " the Time of his Divine Service, muſt amount to " in common and reaſonable Conſtruction. Your " *Petitioners* therefore moſt humbly and earneſtly " beſeech your Majeſty, that you will be pleaſed " not to inſiſt upon their diſtributing and reading " your Majeſty's ſaid *Declaration*; *and your* Peti- " tioners *as in Duty bound, ſhall ever Pray*, &c." 1688.

The King, ſtartled and incenſed at this *Petition*, anſwered in a very angry Tone: *I have heard of this before, but did not believe it: I did not expect this from the Church of* England, *eſpecially from ſome of you. If I change my Mind, you ſhall hear from me; if not, I expect my Command ſhall be obeyed.* The Biſhops replied, *We reſign ourſelves to the Will of God*; and then immediately retired. *The King's Anſwer.*

The Biſhops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter*, both Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, and two others, cauſed the Declaration to be read in their Dioceſes. But it generally fell out, wherever it was read, that the Congregation immediately left the Church. One Miniſter, before he began to read it, told his Flock, " That he could not refuſe the Order ſent him to " read the Declaration, but that he knew no Order " which obliged them to hear it". In *London* it was read but in four or five Churches.

In the mean Time the Court was at a Loſs how to behave towards the Recuſant Biſhops. Not that they dropped their Reſolution of coming to Extremities with them, rather than quit their Deſign; but they did not Care to begin with the Biſhops, ſuch was the Reverence which the People bore them. Notwithſtanding the haughty and violent Meaſures which the King's Counſellors had thrown him upon they could not but tremble when they met with any Oppoſition, ſo great was the Advantage which the *Proteſtants* had over the *Papiſts* in Point of Number. They conſidered that while every Body was ſubmiſſive, the Lords Lieutenants of Counties, and the

1688. Magiſtrates, all Creatures of the King, had great Credit and Authority; but ſhould the People happen to grow weary of their Obedience, and make an open Reſiſtance; their Authority would immediately vaniſh: And what likelihood was there that the ſmaller Number ſhould prove a Match for the greater? This had been the Caſe in the Reign of *Richard* II, and very lately in that of *Charles* I. It ſeems therefore that common Prudence called upon the King to avoid every thing which might produce a ſudden Revolution, and not to enter upon violent Meaſures until he had taken his Aim with the greateſt Precaution. For upon Suppoſition of a Rebellion, which by no Means ſeemed improbable, could he, after having driven the Biſhops to Extremity, without the laſt Infatuation expect that a *Proteſtant* Army would be the Tools to introduce *Popery*, and force *Proteſtants* into Submiſſion? But on the other Hand thoſe who directed the King in his Counſels or Undertakings, had not his Intereſt chiefly in View, but thoſe of the *Catholick* Religion. They conſidered the King only as an Inſtrument to be made uſe of whilſt he was alive, for fear they ſhould loſe him on a ſudden, and let what would happen to him. God ſeems to have blinded this Prince to prevent his ſeeing what was ſo clearly ſeen by every Body elſe, in order to puſh him down the Precipice. He therefore reſolved to proceed to Extremities with the Biſhops, and for this Purpoſe they were ſummoned to appear before the Council the 8th of *June*.

The Biſhops ſummoned before the Council.

Their Appearance and Behaviour.

On their Appearance they were asked, *Whether they owned the Petition?* The Biſhops ſurprized with a Queſtion which to them appeared needleſs, as themſelves had preſented the Petition in Perſon, feared ſome Miſchief was intended by it; and therefore at firſt gave an evaſive Anſwer. At laſt the Archbiſhop owned the Petition, that it was written with his own Hand, and that the reſt had ſigned it. But added that they had done nothing but what they were ready to juſtify. The Chancellor endeavoured

voured to make them ſenſible of the ill Conſequences of their Diſobedience, which tended to diminiſh the King's Authority, and to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom. In Concluſion he asked them, whether they would give their Recognizances to appear before the Court of *King's-Bench* to anſwer this high Miſdemeanour? This they all refuſed, inſiſting on the Privilege of their Peerage, which they were reſolved to maintain as well as the Rights of the Church, being equally bound by their Callings to oppoſe all Innovations both in Government and Religion. The Chancellor ſurprized at their Conſtancy, threatned to ſend them to the *Tower*, and to proſecute them to the utmoſt Rigour of the Law, unleſs they immediately recanted, and withdrew their Petition. They unanimouſly anſwered, That they were ready to go whitherſoever his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſend them; that they hoped the King of Kings would be their Protector and their Judge; that they feared nothing from Men; and that having acted according to Law and their own Conſciences, no Puniſhments ſhould ever be able to ſhake their Reſolutions. 1688

Upon this Anſwer Eighteen Privy-Counſellors, ſeveral of them *Papiſts*, gave their Votes for ſending the Biſhops to the *Tower*. A Warrant was immediately drawn and ſigned for their Commitment, the Reaſon given being, *For contriving, making, and publiſhing a ſeditious Libel againſt his Majeſty and his Government.* It is difficult to conceive how putting a Petition into the Hands of the King himſelf, could be called a Publication of it. However that be, the Attorney and Sollicitor-General were ordered to proſecute them for the ſame the next *Term*. It was not thought proper to ſend them to the *Tower* through the Streets of *London*, for fear it might occaſion ſome Tumult. They were therefore in the moſt private Manner ſent by Water. But it could not be done with that Privacy as to eſcape the Knowledge of the People, who in Crowds ran down to the River ſide, and all the way upon their Knees deſired their Bleſ- *They are ſent to the* Tower.

1688. sing, extolling and encouraging their Constancy. The same Spectacle was renewed at the *Tower*, where the Soldiers of the Garrison fell on their Knees to ask their Blessing. This was a great Mortification to the King, and might have convinced him that he was yet very far from his Aim. But as I said before, the Design of his Counsellors was to make haste and finish the Work they had begun, for fear some Accident might deprive them of the Instrument with which they carried on their Designs.

The Queen delivered of a Prince. Two Days after the Bishops had been sent to the *Tower*, on the 10th of *June* the Queen was brought to Bed of a Prince, who during the Life of his Father went by the Name and Stile of *the Prince of* Wales, and since that is recognized by some as King of *Great-Britain* by the Name of *James* III, and by others is called the *Pretender*. His Birth was a Subject of Triumph to the *Papists*, but of Astonishment and Terrour to the *Protestants*, who saw their Hopes vanished that their Misfortunes would end with the Death of the King. All the World knows that the Birth of this Prince has been very much suspected, and that many then believed, and still do, that it was Suppositious. Volumes have been published with Reasons for and against the Legitimacy of it. The Reader, doubtless, expects not from a Forreigner a Decision upon a Fact which was never perfectly cleared; the Imposture whereof stands only upon Conjectures and Probabilities, and its Truth upon Suppositions which indeed are found to be generally true, but of which nevertheless it cannot be said that it is impossible they may be sometimes false. In general it is very certain, that the Queen during the whole time of her Pregnancy, was suspected of a Design to impose an Heir upon the Kingdom, and this Suspicion was notoriously publick. It is moreover certain, that though both King and Queen knew of this Suspicion, they took not one Step in order to destroy it. On the contrary, their whole Conduct, as well during the Queen's Preg-

Suspicions relating to it.

Reflections upon it.

nancy,

nancy, as in the Time of her Lying-in, gave ſtill greater Strength to the Suſpicion. For a Neligence which goes for nothing when there is no Suſpicion, cannot avoid being remarked when an Impoſture is ſuſpected. On the other Hand, it ſeems a ſtanding Rule, that, when both Parents entertain no Doubt concerning the Birth of their Child, no Perſon can be certain that they are miſtaken. But this Rule is perhaps not ſo general and certain as it is imagined. It is very good where there is no Suſpicion of an Impoſture. But let the Caſe be put, of a Preſumptive-Heir, aggrieved by the Birth of a Child who comes to take his Place, having good Proofs that this is a ſuppoſititious Child, certainly the mere owning of this Child by both Parents, will not invalidate Proofs, which I ſuppoſe to be full. It is by no means impoſſible for a Man and a Woman to conſpire in ſubſtituting a Child, from a Motive of Revenge or ſome other Intereſt, to deprive a Preſumptive-Heir of the Succeſſion. I ſay the thing is not impoſſible, though it rarely falls out. There are Inſtances to prove the Poſſibility. True indeed it is, that to decide by Law that a Child is ſuppoſititious, very convincing Proofs ought to be produced, becauſe Judges tyed up to Rules of Law, are not to be determined by Appearances, however probable they may ſeem. But the Caſe is not the ſame with the Publick, which is often as ſtrongly impreſſed with Conjectures founded upon probable Appearances, as with the cleareſt Proofs. The Affair in Queſtion having never been legally decided, I can only preſent the Reader with what has been urged with the greateſt Probability for or againſt this Birth, in order to aſſiſt him to a Determination of his Judgement one way or other, or to let him ſee that he ought to ſuſpend it till the Thing is more plainly made out. This I propoſe to do with the greateſt Impartiality, in producing the Teſtimonies on both Sides. 1688.

1688. *Sundry Opinions concerning the Birth of the Prince of* Wales.

There are Three Opinions relating to the real or pretended Birth of the Prince of *Wales*.

The *first* is, that the Queen was not with Child when ſhe pretended to be ſo, and that at the Time of her pretended Delivery a Son was impoſed as if born of her. The *ſecond* is, that ſhe was really with Child, but that having the Misfortune of a Miſcarriage, ſhe continued ſtill to pretend herſelf with Child, and at laſt impoſed, or cauſed to be impoſed, a Child as born of her Body, and that this Child dying ſhortly after, another was ſubſtituted in his room, and to this, dying ſeven Weeks after, ſucceeded another ſuppoſititious Child. The *third* Opinion is, that the Queen was really with Child, and delivered the 10th of *June* of a Son, the ſame who goes by the Name of the *Pretender*, and is now at *Rome*. In Confirmation of the firſt of theſe Opinions it is alledged: 1. That the King for certain Reaſons was become incapable of having Children. 2. That the Queen had been Seven Years without a Big-belly. 3. That in reference to this pretended Pregnancy, ſhe never fixed the Time of her Reckoning. 4. That her Delivery was ſudden, and immediately after the removing of her Lodgings. 5. That this pretended Delivery fell out on a *Sunday* Morning, when all the *Proteſtant* Court-Ladies were at Church. 6. That neither the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, the *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*, nor the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, were preſent at her Majeſty's Labour, though they were the three Perſons who ought principally to have been there. 7. That during the Labour, the Bed her Majeſty lay in was not left ſo open as it ſhould have been. 8. That while her Majeſty went with Child, ſhe never ſatisfied the Princeſs *Anne*, and many *Proteſtant* Ladies about her, of her Bigneſs, either by letting them feel her Belly, or ſee her Breaſts. 9. That neither did ſhe ſhew the Princeſs any of her Milk after her Lying-in. 10. That during her Labour, a Warming-pan was brought into the Room, though the Weather was extreme hot, and the Room

heated

heated by a vaſt Croud of People. Laſtly, It was alledged, that though the King, Queen and Courtiers ſufficiently knew before the Delivery, that the Nation ſuſpected an Impoſture, they did not uſe theſe Precautions as they might and ought to have done in ſuch a caſe; for inſtead of putting it beyond all poſſibility of Doubt, they left ſo many Marks of Suſpicion as cauſed infinite Doubts and Diſputes: Inſomuch that ſome *Roman-Catholicks* themſelves owned, *That ſo important an Affair had been managed with great Supineneſs and Imprudence, during all the Time it was depending.* This is what Mr. *Echard* ſays, one of the moſt moderate Hiſtorians, and who ought not to be ſuſpected by the King's Adherents. 1688.

Dr. *Welwood* is very ſhort in his Account of this Matter, and contents himſelf with giving the general Opinion, without ſaying any thing of his own. Theſe are his Words:

While the Biſhops were in the Tower, *the* Roman-Catholicks *had their Hopes crowned with the Birth of a pretended Prince of* Wales. *The Fears of a* Proteſtant Succeſſor, *had been the only Allay that rendered their Proſperity leſs perfect. Now the Happineſs of having an Heir to the Crown, to be bred up in* their own Religion, *quaſhed all thoſe Fears, and atoned for the Uncertainty of the King's Life. It was ſo much their Intereſt to have one, and there were ſo many Circumſtances that ſeemed to render his Birth ſuſpicious, that the Nation in general were inclinable to believe, that this was the* laſt Effort *of the* Party, to accompliſh our Ruin. *Extract from* Welwood, p. 187.

But he who has been moſt circumſtantial in the Delivery of this Affair, is Dr. *Burnet* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, in the Hiſtory of his own Time, publiſhed ſince his Death. As this Hiſtory will ſhortly appear in *French*, I might ſeem to be excuſed from tranſcribing here what that illuſtrious Author ſays concerning this Matter. But beſides that my Readers

1688. may not, many of them, have the Convenience of going to the Original, the Inferences which I am afterwards to draw from the Biſhop's Teſtimony, engage me to give the Paſſage entire which relates to the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*. I chuſe rather to be at the Pains of tranſcribing ſome Pages, than to give my Reader the Trouble of conſulting the Book itſelf. What the Biſhop has ſaid on this Subject is as follows:

and from Biſhop Burnet.

" I muſt now look back to *England*, where the " Queen's Delivery was the Subject of all Men's " Diſcourſe. And ſince ſo much depends on this, " I will give as full and as diſtinct an account of all " that related to that Matter, as I could gather up " either at that time or afterwards. The Queen had " been for ſix or ſeven Years in ſuch an ill State of " Health, that every Winter brought her very near " Death. Thoſe about her ſeemed well aſſured that " ſhe, who buried all her Children ſoon after they " were born, and had now for ſeveral Years ceaſed " bearing, would have no more Children. Her own " Prieſts apprehended it, and ſeemed to wiſh for her " Death. She had great and frequent Diſtempers, " that returned often, which put all People out of " their Hopes or Fears of her having any Children. " Her Spirits were now much on the Fret. She was " eager in the Proſecution of all the King's Deſigns. " It was believed, that ſhe had a main Hand in " driving him to them all. And he, perhaps to " make her gentler to him in his vagrant Amours, " was more eaſy to her in every thing elſe. The " Lady *Dorcheſter* was come back from *Ireland*; " and the King went often to her. But it was vi- " ſible, ſhe was not like to gain that Credit in Af- " fairs, to which ſhe had aſpired: And therefore this " was leſs conſidered.

" She had another Mortification, when *Fitz-James* " the King's Son was made Duke of *Berwick*. He " was a ſoft and harmleſs young Man, and was

" much beloved by the King: But the Queen's 1688.
" Diſlike kept him from making any great Figure.
" He made two Campaigns in *Hungary*, that were
" little to his Honour: For, as his Governour di-
" verted the Allowance that was given for keeping
" a Table, and ſent him always to eat at other Ta-
" bles, ſo, though in the Siege of *Buda* there were
" many Occaſions given him to have diſtinguiſhed
" himſelf, yet he had appeared in none of them. There
" was more care taken of his Perſon than became
" his Age and Condition. Yet his Governour's
" Brother was a Jeſuit, and in the Secret: So every
" thing was ventured on by him, and all was for-
" given him.

" In *September*, the former Year, the Queen went
" to the *Bath*, where, as was already told, the King
" came and ſaw her, and ſtaid a few Days with
" her. She after that purſued a full Courſe of ba-
" thing: And, having reſolved to return in the End
" of *September*, an Accident took her to which the
" Sex is Subject; and that made her ſtay there a
" Week longer. She came to *Windſor* on the 6th of
" *October*. It was ſaid, that at the very time of her
" coming to the King, her Mother, the Dutcheſs
" of *Modena*, made a Vow to the Lady of *Loretto*,
" that her Daughter might by her Means have a Son.
" And it went current, that the Queen believed her-
" ſelf to be with Child in that very inſtant in which
" her Mother made her Vow: Of which, ſome
" Travellers have aſſured me, there was a ſolemn
" Record made at *Loretto*. A Conception ſaid to be
" thus begun looked ſuſpicious. It was now fixed
" to the 6th of *October*: So the Nine Months was
" to run to the 6th of *July*. She was in the Pro-
" greſs of her big Belly let Blood ſeveral times:
" And the moſt aſtringent things that could be pro-
" poſed were uſed.

" It was ſoon obſerved, that all things about her
" Perſon were managed with a myſterious Secrecy,
" into which, none was admitted but a few Papiſts.

She

1688. "She was not dreſſed nor undreſſed with the uſual "Ceremony. Prince *George* told me, that the Prin-"ceſs went as far in deſiring to be ſatisfied by feel-"ing the Motion, after ſhe ſaid ſhe was quick, as "ſhe could go without breaking with her: And "ſhe had ſometimes ſtaid by her even indecently "long in Mornings to ſee her riſe, and to give her "her Shift: But ſhe never did either. She never "offered any Satisfaction in that Matter by Letters "to the Princeſs of *Orange*, nor any of the Ladies "of Quality, in whoſe Word the World would "have acquieſced. The Thing upon this began to "be ſuſpected: And ſome Libels were writ, treating "the whole as an Impoſture. The Uſe the Queen "made of this was, to ſay, that ſince ſhe ſaw ſome "were ſuſpecting her capable of ſo black a Con-"trivance, ſhe ſcorned to ſatisfy thoſe who could "entertain ſuch Thoughts of her. How juſt ſoever "this might be with relation to the Libellers, yet "certainly if ſhe was truly with Child, ſhe owed it "to the King and herſelf, to the King's Daughters, "but moſt of all to the Infant ſhe carried in her "Belly, to give ſuch reaſonable Satisfaction, as "might put an end to Jealouſy. This was in her "Power to do every Day: And her not doing it "gave juſt Grounds of Suſpicion.

"Things went thus on till *Monday* in *Eaſter* "Week. On that Day the King went to *Rocheſter*, "to ſee ſome of the Naval Preparations; but was "ſoon ſent for by the Queen, who apprehended ſhe "was in danger of miſcarrying. Dr. *Scarborough* "was come to *Knightsbridge* to ſee Biſhop *Ward*, my "Predeceſſor, who had been his antient Friend, and "was then his Patient: But the Queen's Coach was "ſent to call him in all haſt, ſince ſhe was near miſ-"carrying. Dr. *Windebank*, who knew nothing of "this Matter, ſtaid long that Morning upon an Ap-"pointment for Dr. *Walgrave*, another of the "Queen's Phyſicians, who the next time he ſaw "him excuſed himſelf, for the Queen, he ſaid, was

"then

" then under the moſt apparent Signs of miſcarrying. 1688.
" Of this the Doctor made Oath; and it is yet
" extant.

" On the ſame Day the Counteſs of *Clarendon*, be-
" ing to go out of Town for a few Days, came to
" ſee the Queen before ſhe went, knowing nothing
" of what had happened to her. And ſhe, being a
" Lady of the Bed-chamber to Queen *Dowager*, did,
" according to the Rule of the Court, go into the
" Queen's Bed-chamber without asking Admittance.
" She ſaw the Queen a Bed, bemoaning herſelf in a
" moſt doleful Manner, ſaying often, *Undone, un-*
" *done:* And one that belonged to her carried ſome-
" what out of the Bed, which ſhe believed was
" Linnen taken from the Queen. She was upon
" this in ſome Confuſion: And the Counteſs of
" *Powis* coming in, went to her, and ſaid with
" ſome Sharpneſs, What do you do here? And car-
" ried her to the Door. Before ſhe had got out
" of the Court, one of the Bed-chamber Women
" followed her, and charged her not to ſpeak of any
" thing ſhe had ſeen that Day. This Matter, what-
" ever was in it, was huſhed up: and the Queen held
" on her Courſe.

" The Princeſs had miſcarried in the Spring. So,
" as ſoon as ſhe had recovered her Strength, the
" King preſſed her to go to the *Bath*, ſince that
" had ſo good an effect on the Queen. Some of her
" Phyſicians, and all her other Friends, were againſt
" her going. *Lower*, one of her Phyſicians told me
" he was againſt it: He thought, ſhe was not ſtrong
" enough for the *Bath*, though the King preſſed it
" with an unuſual Vehemence. *Millington*, another
" Phyſician, told the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, from
" whom I had it, that he was preſſed to go to the
" Princeſs, and adviſe her to go to the *Bath*. The
" Perſon that ſpoke to him told him the King was
" much ſet on it; and that he expected it of him,
" that he would perſuade her to it. *Millington* an-
" ſwered, He would not adviſe a Patient according

" to

1688. " to Direction, but according to his own Reaſon:
" So he would not go. *Scarborough* and *Witherby*
" took it upon them to adviſe it: So ſhe went
" thither in the End of *May*.

" As ſoon as ſhe was gone, thoſe about the Queen
" did all of the ſudden change her Reckoning, and
" began it from the Time of the King's being with
" her at the *Bath*. This came on ſo quick, that
" though the Queen had ſet the fourteenth of *June*
" for her going to *Windſor*, where ſhe intended to
" Lie-in, and all the Preparations for the Birth and
" for the Child were ordered to be made ready by
" the end of *June*, yet now a Reſolution was taken
" for the Queen's lying-in in St. *James*'s, and Direc-
" tions were given to have all Things quickly rea-
" dy. The *Bath*-Water either did not agree with
" the Princeſs: Or the Advices of her Friends were
" ſo preſſing, who thought her Abſence from Court
" at that Time of ſuch Conſequence, that in Com-
" pliance with them ſhe gave it out that it did not,
" and that therefore ſhe would return in a few Days.

" After the Court had this Notice, the Queen
" ſaid ſhe would go to St. *James*'s, and look for the
" good Hour. She was often told, that it was im-
" poſſible upon ſo ſhort warning to have Things
" ready. But ſhe was ſo poſitive, that ſhe ſaid, ſhe
" would lye there that Night, though ſhe ſhould
" lie upon the Boards. And at Night, though the
" ſhorter and quicker way was to go from *Whitehall*
" to St. *James*'s through the Park, and ſhe always
" went that way, yet now by a ſort of Affectation,
" ſhe would be carried thither by *Charing-Croſs*
" through the *Pall Mall*. And it was given out by
" all her Train, that ſhe was going to be delivered.
" Some ſaid it would be next Morning: And the
" Prieſts ſaid very confidently, that it would be a
" Boy.

" The next Morning about nine a Clock, ſhe
" ſent Word to the King, that ſhe was in Labour.
" The Queen Dowager was next ſent to. But no

" Ladies

" Ladies were ſent for: So that no Women were in 1688.
" the Room, but two Dreſſers, and one Under-Dreſ-
" ſer, and the Midwife. The Earl of *Arran* ſent
" notice to the Counteſs of *Sunderland*: So ſhe
" came, The Lady *Bellaſis* came alſo in Time. The
" Proteſtant Ladies that belonged to the Court
" were all gone to Church before the News was
" let to go abroad: For it happened on *Trinity Sun-*
" *day*, it being on that Year on the tenth of *June*.
" The King brought over with him from *White-*
" *hall* a great many Peers and Privy-Counſellors.
" And of theſe eighteen were let into the Bed-Cham-
" ber; but they ſtood at the fartheſt End of the
" Room. The Ladies ſtood within the Alcove.
" The Curtains of the Bed were drawn cloſe, and
" none came within them but the Midwife, and an
" Under-Dreſſer. The Queen lay all the while in
" Bed: And in order to the warming one Side of it,
" a Warming-Pan was brought, but it was not o-
" pened that it might be ſeen that there was Fire and
" nothing elſe in it. So here was Matter for Suſpi-
" cion, with which all People were filled.

" A little before Ten the Queen cried out as in a
" ſtrong Pain, and immediately after the Midwife
" ſaid aloud, ſhe was happily brought to Bed. When
" the Lords all cried out of what, the Midwife an-
" ſwered, the Queen muſt not be ſurprized; only
" ſhe gave a Sign to the Counteſs of *Sunderland*, who
" upon that touched her Forehead, by which, it be-
" ing the Sign before agreed on, the King ſaid he
" knew it was a Boy. No Cries were heard from
" the Child; nor was it ſhewed to thoſe in the Room.
" It was pretended more Air was neceſſary. The
" Under-Dreſſer went out of the Room with the
" Child; or ſomewhat elſe in her Arms to a Dreſ-
" ſing Room, to which there was a Door near the
" Queen's Bed; but there was another Entry to it
" from other Apartments. The King continued with
" the Lords in the Bed-Chamber for ſome Minutes,
" which was either a ſign of much Phlegm upon

" ſuch

1688. " ſuch an Occaſion; for it was not known whether " the Child was alive or dead: Or it looked like " giving Time for ſome Management. After a little " while they went all into the Dreſſing-Room, and " then the News was publiſhed. In the mean while, " no Body was called to lay their Hands on the " Queen's Belly, in order to a full Satisfaction. " When the Princeſs came to Town three Days af- " ter, ſhe had a little Satisfaction given her. *Cham-* " *berlane* the Man Midwife, who was always ordered " to attend her Labour before, and who brought the " Plaiſters for putting back the Milk, wondered that " he had not been ſent to. He went according to " Cuſtom with the Plaiſters: But he was told that " they had no occaſion for him. He fancied that " ſome other Perſon was put in his Place; but he " could not find that any had it. All that concern- " ed the Milk, or the Queen's Purgations, was ma- " naged in the Dark. This made all People inclined " more and more to believe, there was a baſe Im- " poſture now put on the Nation. That ſtill increa- " ſed. That Night one *Hemings*, a very worthy Man, " an Apothecary by Trade, who lived in St. *Mar-* " *tin's-Lane*, the very next Door to a Family of an " eminent Papiſt: (*Brown* Brother to the Viſcount " *Montacute*, lived there:) The Wall between his " Parlour and theirs being ſo thin, that he could " eaſily hear any Thing that was ſaid with a lowder " Voice, he (*Hemings*) was Reading in his Parlour " late at Night, when he heard one coming into the " Parlour, and ſay with a doleful Voice, the Prince " of *Wales* is dead: Upon which a great many that " lived in the Houſe came down Stairs very quick: " Upon this Confuſion he could not hear any Thing " more; but it was plain, they were in a great Con- " ſternation. He went with the News next Morn- " ing to the Biſhops in the Tower. The Counteſs " of *Clarendon* came thither ſoon after, and told " them, ſhe had been at the young Prince's Door, " but was denied Acceſs: She was amazed at it; and

" asked

" asked if they knew her; they ſaid they did, but 1688.
" that the Queen had ordered that no Perſon what-
" ſoever ſhould be ſuffered to come into him. This
" gave Credit to *Hemings's* Story, and looked as if all
" was ordered to be ſhut up cloſe, till another Child
" was found. One that ſaw the Child two Days af-
" ter, ſaid to me, that he looked ſtrong, and not
" like a Child ſo newly born. *Windebank* met *Wal-*
" *grave* the Day after this Birth, and remembered
" him of what he had told him eight Weeks before.
" He acknowledged what he had ſaid, but added,
" that God wrought Miracles: To which no Reply
" could or durſt be made by the other, it needed
" none. So healthy a Child being ſo little like any
" of thoſe the Queen had born, it was given out
" that he had Fits, and could not live. But thoſe
" who ſaw him every Day obſerved not any ſuch
" Thing. On the contrary, the Child was in a very
" proſperous State. None of thoſe Fits ever hap-
" pened, when the Princeſs was at Court; for ſhe
" could not be denied Admittance, though all others
" were. So this was believed to be given out to
" make the Matter more credible. It is true, ſome
" Weeks after that, the Court being gone to *Windſor*,
" and the Child ſent to *Richmond*, he fell into ſuch
" Fits that four Phyſicians were ſent for. They all
" looked on him as a dying Child. The King and
" Queen were ſent for. The Phyſicians went to a
" Dinner prepared for them, and were often won-
" dering that they were not called for. They took
" it for granted that the Child was dead. But when
" they went in after Dinner to look on him, they
" ſaw a ſound healthy Child, that ſeemed to have
" had no ſort of illneſs on him. It was ſaid, that the
" Child was ſtrangely revived of a ſudden. Some
" of the Phyſicians told *Lloyd* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*,
" that it was not poſſible for them to think it was
" the ſame Child. They looked on one another, but
" durſt not ſpeak what they thought.

" Thus I have related ſuch Particulars as I could
" gather of this Birth: To which ſome ſhall be ad-

1688. " ded, when I give an Account of the Proof that " the King brought afterwards to put this Matter " out of doubt ; but by which it became indeed " more doubtful than ever. I took moſt of theſe " from the Informations that were ſent over to the " Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, as I had many from " the Vouchers themſelves. I do not mix with theſe " the various Reports that were, both then and af- " terwards ſpread of this Matter, of which Biſhop " *Lloyd* has a great Collection, moſt of them well " atteſted. What Truth ſoever may be in theſe, this " is certain, that the Method in which this Matter " was conducted from firſt to laſt was very unac- " countable. If an Impoſture had been intended, it " could not have been otherwiſe managed. The " pretended Excuſe that the Queen made, that ſhe " owed no Satisfaction to thoſe who could ſuſpect " her capable of ſuch baſe Forgery, was the only " Excuſe that ſhe could have made, if it had been " really what it was commonly ſaid to be. She " ſeemed to be ſoon recovered, and was ſo little al- " tered by her Labour, either in her looks or Voice, " that this helped not a little to increaſe Jealouſies. " The Rejoycings over *England* upon this Birth were " very cold and forced. Bonfires were made in ſome " Places, and a Sett of congratulatory Addreſſes " went round the Nation. None durſt oppoſe them; " but all was formal, and only to make a ſhew. "

After having thus laid before the Reader what has been ſaid by Mr. *Echard*, and the Biſhop of *Salisbury* on the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, I ſhall make ſome Remarks on this Subject.

The Author's Reflections upon this Matter.

1. If a Man carefully examines the Accounts given by theſe two famous Writers, he will doubtleſs, be ſurprized to find a ſort of Contradiction between them. For the Suſpicions ſpoke of by the firſt were, that the Queen, though ſhe pretended to be, was not at all with Child. It even ſeems that the Biſhop of *Salisbury* has a Mind at firſt to ſupport this Suſpicion, by reminding his Readers of her *great and frequent*

quent Diſtempers; of her having *for ſeveral Years ceaſed bearing*; of her having *buried all her Children ſoon after they were born*; of her refuſing to give Satisfaction to the Princeſs of *Denmark*, and the *Proteſtant Ladies* of the Court. Nevertheleſs he ſays poſitively afterwards, that ſhe was with Child the 6th of *October*, and that in *Eaſter* Week ſhe had a Miſcarriage, that is, ſix Months after Conception. If this be true it follows clearly, that all the Suſpicions entertained of the Queen from the Beginning of *January*, (the Time of her declared Pregnancy) ought to have no Regard payed them, though the Queen had been leſs careful of giving Satisfaction to the Publick, than ſhe was. For aſſuredly this Negligence is not capable to invalidate the Reality of her Pregnancy, if ſhe had a Miſcarriage in the Beginning of her ſeventh Month. What the Prince of *Denmark* told Doctor *Burnet* of the Unſucceſsfulneſs of the Princeſs in her Deſign to *ſee the* Queen *riſe*, can give no Strength to the Suſpicion of a Child's being impoſed, unleſs it appear that this Curioſity of the Princeſs commenced after the *Monday* before *Eaſter*, and continued to the 10th of *June*. But the Biſhop aſſigns no Date for this. It might even be inferred from the order in which the Biſhop delivers the Story, that this part of it relating to the Princeſs of *Denmark*, paſſed between *January* and *Eaſter* Week. But ſuppoſing the Reality of the Pregnancy, it is clear that the Queen might have given Satisfaction to the Princeſs and the *Proteſtant* Court-Ladies. And it cannot be denied that the Neglect was an unpardonable Omiſſion. But it is certain, that this Refuſal proves nothing, if it be true that ſhe was with Child, at leaſt till *Eaſter*-Week. We are therefore carefully to diſtinguiſh the Time. An Obſtinacy, to give no Satisfaction, from *January*, the Time that ſhe declared her ſelf with Child, to *Eaſter* Week, can be aſcribed to nothing but to a miſtaken and an unreaſonable Haughtineſs. But we may, if we pleaſe, ſuſpect that from *Eaſter* Week to the 10th of *June*, ſhe 1688.

1688. ſtill pretended to be with Child, when ſhe was no longer ſo, and that ſhe ſubſtituted another at the Time of her pretended Delivery. Thus all the Suſpicion concerning the Reality of her Pregnancy, would be included within the Space of two Months. For in the Year 1688, *Eaſter-Day* fell out on the 15th of *April*, the Queen had a Miſcarriage the *Monday* before *Eaſter*, on the 9th of *April*, and ſhe was delivered the 10th of *June*. But no Time is fixed for this Refuſal of Satisfaction to the Publick, though, the Queen being ſix Months gone when ſhe had her Miſcarriage, ſhe might for ſome Time have ſatisfied thoſe whom it concerned, of the Motion of the Child within her.

2. In the Biſhop of *Salisbury*'s Account one ſees four ſeveral Children. The *firſt*, which really belonged to the Queen, was an untimely Birth of ſix Months. The *ſecond* was, that which was miſtruſted at the Time of her pretended Delivery, and died the ſame Day. The *third* was that ſubſtituted in the room of the laſt dead Child, and which died alſo ſome Weeks after at *Richmond*. The *fourth* muſt be that ſubſtituted in the room of the third, and the ſame who goes at this Day by the Name of the *Pretender*. It is ſurprizing that Mr. *Echard*, who probably writ not the Hiſtory of this Reign until twenty or twenty-five Years after the Time I am ſpeaking of, ſhould have heard nothing of theſe two laſt ſubſtituted Children, but confines himſelf to *one impoſed* upon the World, in his Account of the publick Suſpicions.

3. *Fuller* who pretended to detect with the greateſt Exactneſs the Falſity of the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, is at no Agreement with the Biſhop of *Salisbury*. But his Teſtimony ſhall be no longer inſiſted on, as there was ſo little Regard had to his pretended Diſcovery.

4. I am therefore to examine what the Biſhop of *Salisbury* ſays, to incourage a Suſpicion of the Subſtitution of the three laſt Children. For as for the firſt,

first, which was born before due Time, this Author scruples not to own it to be really the Queen's. For this Purpose we are to distinguish three different Times; namely, *before*, *at*, and *after* her Delivery. I shall give the Reader some Observations upon most of the remarkable Particulars of each of these Times. 1688.

1. The King's pressing with so much Earnestness the Princess's going to the *Bath* agrees very well with a Design to impose an Heir on the Crown. For the Presence of the Princess at the pretended Delivery must have been troublesome, on Account of the Interest she had to detect the Imposture. Had the King contented himself with barely giving her his Advice to go to the *Bath*, nothing could have been concluded from it, but that he thought the *Bath* might prove serviceable to the Recovery of her Health. But his repeated Instances, and his Earnestness to have his Advice supported by a Physician, seem to discover some secret Design, and more especially, when it is considered that a Suspicion had already prevailed of an intended Imposture. This Suspicion is still strengthened by the Change of the Time in the Queen's Reckoning, and by her Delivery two Days after it was known that the Princess was upon the Point of returning from the *Bath*. But the Reason of this Suspicion must have no more Stress laid upon it than it really deserves. For as it is very possible for the King to have really believed that the *Bath* would be of Service to the Princess his Daughter, the *Suspicion* of his acting in this Affair from another Motive, is founded only upon the Supposition of an Imposture. If this were well proved, the King's Conduct indeed would amount to a Sort of a new Proof. But as it is not, it seems that the *Suspicion* ought not to be supported by the Supposition of the Fact in Question.

2. If it is true that the Queen did not at first believe her self with Child till after the 6th of *October*, and that she afterwards suddenly changed her Reckoning, such a Conduct gives just Ground to suspect

1688. that it was done for ſome ſecret Reaſon. And indeed by this new Reckoning ſhe was to be brought to Bed during the Abſence of the Princeſs of *Denmark*, whereas by the firſt ſhe could not be delivered until after her Return. To this let us add that if it is true that about the End of *September* ſhe was ſtopped at the *Bath*, one Week longer than ſhe intended, *by an Accident to which the Sex is ſubject*, ſhe could not be with Child from the 10th of *September*, nor conſequently brought to Bed the 10th of *June*. To this it is anſwered that theſe Miſreckonings are common to the whole Sex. But this Reply is inſignificant here, becauſe it does not appear that the Queen thought herſelf miſtaken in her Reckoning.

3. It cannot be denied that there was ſomething extraordinary in the ſudden Reſolution taken by the Queen of going to Lye-in at St. *James*'s, and in the executing at once this Reſolution, when nothing was in Readineſs for her. Hitherto no apparent Reaſon has been given of this ſudden Change, to convince the World that ſhe could Lye-in more commodiouſly at St. *James*'s than at *White-hall*, nor why ſhe at firſt made Choice of *Windſor* for the Place, and fixed the time to the Beginning of *July*.

4. I own I ſee nothing in the Queen's Affectation of *being carried to* St. James's *by* Charing-Croſs, *through the* Pall-Mall, to ſtrengthen the Suſpicion of an Impoſture.

5. I have never heard it ſaid, that the Preſence of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* is abſolutely neceſſary at the Delivery of the Queens of *England*, and leſs ſtill at that of a *Popiſh* Queen, who could have no great need of his Aſſiſtance.

As for the time of the Queen's Delivery, a great many things ought to be carefully examined.

1. The Queen after having declared her Intention to Lie-in at St. *James*'s without any apparent Neceſſity, was bent to go thither on the *Saturday* though nothing was in Readineſs for her. This is a Sign that ſhe thought ſhe ſhould be too late if ſhe deferred her going until the next Day. It is therefore

fore clear that ſhe expected the Moment of her Delivery every Hour, and nevertheleſs when ſhe began to find her ſelf ill, *No Women were in the Room but two Dreſſers, one Under-dreſſer, and the Midwife.* Not one of the Queen's foreign Ladies was to be met with in the whole Palace. It cannot be denied that this was ſomething extraordinary for a Queen, ſince it was ſo eaſy for her to have had other Ladies at Hand to aſſiſt her, and ſo much the more as ſhe waited every Hour for the Moment of her Delivery. It is not leſs extraordinary that none of the Court Ladies were called beſides the Counteſs of *Sunderland*, by the particular Care of the Earl of *Arran*; and the Queen Dowager who lodged in *Somerſet-Houſe*, at a good Diſtance from St. *James*'s. All this ſeems to diſcover, it was not deſired that a great Number of Ladies ſhould be preſent at the Labour. To this it is anſwered that the Queen found herſelf taken more ſuddenly than ſhe expected, as happens to great Numbers of Women, and that the *Proteſtant* Ladies were at Church; but ſome take Occaſion from this very Circumſtance to confirm themſelves in their Suſpicion. They infer that the Queen would not have gone with ſo much Precipitation on *Saturday-night*, to St. *James*'s, but that ſhe knew that ſhe ſhould be delivered the next Morning, while the *Proteſtant* Ladies were employed at their Devotions. But this after all is no more than a Suſpicion. For who can be ſure that the Queen acted by the Motive which is here aſcribed to her? All that can be ſaid on this Subject, is, that the Matter in Queſtion being a Child who, if it proved a Boy, was to take the Succeſſion from a Princeſs, the preſumptive Heireſs of the King her Father, the King and Queen ought to have put the Certainty of his Birth out of all Diſpute. But inſtead of this they ſtrengthened the Suſpicions which were already but too far ſpread, and of which they could not be ignorant, by a Conduct the moſt myſterious. The Empreſs *Conſtantia*, Wife of *Henry* VI, happening to prove with Child

1688.

1688. at the Age of fifty two Years, chose a Place the most publick for her Labour, and by that guarded against all Suspicion of the Legitimacy of her Child. On the contrary the Queen of King *James* II, by a total Neglect of all Precautions, left upon her Son, whether Legitimate or otherwise, a Blot which Time has not yet been able to deface.

2. The King's being at the *further End of the Room* with eighteen Peers and Privy-Counsellors, is a Circumstance which proves nothing at all. It is well known that on these Occasions Men are kept at too great a Distance from the Bed, to be Eye-Witnesses of what passes there. All that they can do is to be attentive to the Cries of the Mother, or the Infant. Besides the King himself was not less suspected than the Queen.

3. As to the Warming-Pan brought into the Queen's Chamber, and which was supposed to have in it a new-born Child, this is only a Conjecture founded upon the seeming Needlessness of a Warming-Pan on the 10th of *June*, which proved an excessive hot Day. But to this it is answered that a Labour is often attended with a Quaking and trembling like an Ague, which begins with a cold Fit. This is what I know nothing of. It is pretended farther that it was impossible to put a new-born Child, in the narrow Compass of a Warming-Pan, without stifling it.

Echard.

Idem.

4. It is very extraordinary that the Queen was not a full Hour in Labour; for the King was sent for at nine a Clock, and before ten the Queen was delivered. The Queen cried out but once, and that in the very Moment of her Delivery. When the Mind is once filled with Suspicions, such Circumstances drive them the deeper. Those who were not so prepossessed found nothing extraordinary in this; because the Queen had always easy and quick Labours.

5. It is commonly true that Children the Moment they are born, and exposed to the Air, are heard to cry. But I know not whether this can be depended

pended upon as always certain. However that be, the Queen having neglected to give undoubted Proofs of her Pregnancy, every little uncommon Circumſtance was capable to confirm the Suſpicion of an Impoſture. 1688.

6. As to the Streſs that is laid upon *the Curtains of the Bed being cloſe drawn*, this is no more than what ought to have been, as there were eighteen Perſons of the other Sex in the Room.

7. The Circumſtance of the Child's being not publickly ſhewn, can cauſe no Suſpicion but on Suppoſition of the Suſpicion it ſelf, which ought to have been removed in letting the Child be ſeen as it came from the Womb of its Mother. For otherwiſe this is not the common Practice, no Child being ever ſhewn before the Midwife has taken due Care of it. But if this is urged to prove that a Child was not taken out of the Queen's Bed, the Suſpicion of the Warming-Pan muſt neceſſarily be ſuppreſſed; for had a Child been ſhut up in it, it might with the ſame Eaſe have been taken out of it.

8. What is ſaid of the *King's continuing with the Lords ſome Minutes in the Bed-chamber*, and that, *it looked like giving Time for ſome Management*, is nothing but a Gloſs which deſerves little or no Regard.

9. Thoſe who believe that the Child in Queſtion was not born of the Queen, would have her to have taken all the Precautions which themſelves think neceſſary to deſtroy all Sort of Doubt, and the Omiſſion of one of theſe Precautions is, with them, ſufficient to ſtrengthen and ſupport their Suſpicions.

10. If no Satisfaction was given to the Princeſs of *Denmark* after her Return from the *Bath*, it may be alledged in Excuſe for this, that ſhe diſcovered no Jealouſy concerning the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, and that as ſhe appeared convinced of the Truth, there was no Neceſſity of giving her Proofs of it.

11. The Refuſal of *Chamberlain*'s Plaiſters might very well cauſe a Suſpicion, if it was impoſſible for the

1688. the Queen's Breaſts to be in a Condition not to want them. But how many Labours are there, which have no need of Remedies *for putting back the Milk?* Nevertheleſs the Biſhop of *Salisbury* obviates this Anſwer, by ſaying that in all her former Labours, the Queen had always great Plenty of Milk.

12. What is ſaid of the Queen's good State of Health ſo ſoon after her Delivery proves nothing; there have been Labours ſo proſperous to the Mother, that within very few Days little Alteration has been diſcovered in her. Beſides the Biſhop expreſſes her ſelf in too general a Manner when he ſays, that the Queen *ſeemed to be ſoon recovered.* He ſhould have named the preciſe Time, in order for his Reader to have made a Judgement whether there was any Thing extraordinary in it.

Nevertheleſs, All theſe Reaſons of Suſpicion laid together are capable to make an Impreſſion upon many Minds, which each alone would not be able to do. We muſt always recur to this Point, that the King and the Queen, knowing that they were ſuſpected of having a Deſign to impoſe an Heir upon the Crown, ought to have taken all juſt and prudent Meaſures for the Removal of ſuch a Suſpicion. But as they were wanting in this Care, it is no Wonder that this Suſpicion ſubſiſts to this Day.

All that is ſaid by the Biſhop of *Salisbury* relating to the Time after the Queen's Delivery, and the ſubſtituting of two Children to the firſt ſhe had palmed upon the World, and which was now dead, ſtands only upon the Credit of ſome Perſons whom he has given for Vouchers, and others not named by him. There are beſides ſeveral Particulars, in proof of which he produces not one Evidence.

He ſuppoſes that the Child of which it was pretended the Queen was delivered, died the ſame Day. This Suppoſition is grounded upon what *Hemings* heard *through the Wall of his Parlour*, and upon the *Denial of Acceſs at the young Prince's Door* to the Counteſs of *Clarendon.* All this may be of ſome Weight

Weight when a bare Suſpicion is only intended to be founded on it. But if it is produced as a Proof, the Inſufficiency of it is eaſily ſeen. 1688.

The Death of this ſecond Child at *Richmond* ſtands only upon the Report of four Phyſicians, who were ſent for to viſit him. The Biſhop does not make the Phyſicians poſitively ſay that the Child died, but only that, *They all looked on him as a dying Child.* And as they were not called for after Dinner, *They took it for granted that the Child was dead.* But this Conſequence is not abſolutely neceſſary; for it might well happen that they were not called, becauſe the Child grew better. But, ſays the Biſhop, *When they went in* [uncalled] *after Dinner to look on the Child, they ſaw a ſound healthy Child that ſeemed to have had no Illneſs on him.* They inferred from this, that he was not the ſame Child, and the Biſhop concludes that the firſt was dead and another ſubſtituted in his Room. What is particular in this Fact is, that theſe four Phyſicians founded their Doubt, whether this was the ſame Child, only upon their having found the firſt in ſo bad a State of Health, whereas on their going in after Dinner, *They ſaw a ſound healthy Child.* As if all Children at ſuch an Age were ſo like one another, that no Feature, no Lineament was capable to diſtinguiſh them. Nevertheleſs theſe Phyſicians formed their Suſpicion of it's not being the ſame Child, meerly upon the Difference there is between a State of Health and Sickneſs. This is ſufficiently aſtoniſhing, ſince naturally there muſt have been a Difference between the Faces of the two Children viſible enough, without need of a Recourſe to other Marks and Diſtinctions.

In ſhort every Thing reported by the Biſhop of *Salisbury* relating to the Impoſture of the three Children, ſtands either upon *Hear-ſay*, or upon Informations ſent to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, and read by him at the *Hague* where he was. The Senders of theſe Informations were in all Likelihood no Friends of King *James*. It is therefore very poſſible, not

1688. not to ſay probable, for them to have aggravated Reports, and picked up every Circumſtance, true or falſe, which was capable to perſuade the Prince and Princeſs of the Illegitimacy of the Prince of *Wales*. As to the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, I am perſuaded that he has reported nothing which he did not either hear, read, or believe to be true. But who can be aſſured that he was not impoſed upon by prejudiced Perſons, who looked upon their Suſpicions as ſo many convincing Proofs? I am well aware that all the *Engliſh* have not the ſame good Opinion of Dr. *Burnet* that I have. Volumes of Remarks writ upon his Hiſtory with the greateſt Aſperity, make it clear that the *Jacobites* conſider him as the ſworn Enemy of *James* II, and as an Hiſtorian deſerving no Credit. But as, for very good Reaſons, they have not thought proper to make any Remarks upon the Impoſture of the three Children, it is not my Buſineſs to gueſs what they could have ſaid on that Subject. I content my ſelf therefore with preſuming that he has invented nothing, without taking upon me however to be his Voucher in Facts, which ſtand upon the Teſtimony of others.

I have enlarged the more upon the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, becauſe there ſeemed to me to be great Darkneſs and Confuſion as well in the Books written, as in the Diſcourſes held on this Subject. My Intent was to help the Reader to give his Verdict for or againſt, or to ſuſpend it till the Thing is more fully cleared. As the principal Deſign of Hiſtory is ſolidly to eſtabliſh Facts that are certain, to deſtroy and overthrow thoſe that are falſe, and to inform the Readers of the Grounds of doubting with regard to ſuch as are doubtful, I was of Opinion that in an Affair ſo important as this, which has made ſo much noiſe, and will long continue to do ſo, the Reader would be pleaſed to know what he has to rely on. Thus much is certain, that the Majority of *Proteſtants* believed the Prince of *Wales* to have been ſuppoſititious, chiefly becauſe it was by no means

for

for their Intereſt that *James* II ſhould have had a *Popiſh* Succeſſor. The *Papiſts* on the contrary made no doubt of this Prince's Legitimacy, becauſe ſuch a Succeſſor would have been for their Turn. I am perſuaded that few either *Papiſts* or *Proteſtants* liſtened to any thing but their own Prejudices and Paſſions, for Satisfaction in this Point. But Things having taken another Turn than was then imagined, the *Truth* or *Falſity* of the Birth of this Prince have hitherto produced none of the Effects which were hoped or feared from it. 1688.

The Aſſurance of a *Popiſh* Succeſſor flattered the King with hopes of meeting with leſs Oppoſition to his Deſigns than he had hitherto experienced. But his Deſires were very ſtrong for having the Concurrence of a Parliament. It was with this view that Cloſettings were once more put in practice. He cloſetted ſuch as he had Deſigns upon. Promiſes and Menaces were employed, and thoſe who refuſed to ſerve the King *in his own Way*, as the Word was, might aſſure themſelves of his heavieſt Reſentment. *Cloſetting renewed.*

But with all this, he neglected not the more effectual Means to force his Subjects into Complyance. He ordered ſome entire Regiments out of *Ireland*, and filled up a great many Vacancies in his *Engliſh* Regiments with *Iriſh* and *Popiſh* Officers. This gave ſo great a Diſguſt to the whole Army, that Lampoons, Ballads, and Blunders, were the common Subjects of Merriment againſt the *Iriſh*, who were mortally hated by the *Engliſh*, eſpecially ever ſince the Year of the Maſſacre 1641. *The King ſends for Forces out of* Ireland.

Mean while that the King's Deſigns in augmenting his Forces might be no longer any Matter of Doubt, an Addreſs, ſuppoſed to be drawn up by a Jeſuit, was procured from the City of *Carliſle*, particularly, "To thank his Majeſty for his *Royal Army*, which "really was the Honour and Safety of the Nation; "let the *Teckelites* think and ſay what they would". And upon this Occaſion the *Addreſſers* aſſured his Ma-

1688. *The Carlisle Address.*

Majesty, "That when in his great Wisdom he "should think fit to call a Parliament they would "choose such Members as would certainly concur "with his Majesty in taking off the *Penal Laws* and "*Tests*, and not hazard the Election of any Per- "son, who had any ways declared in Favour of "those *Cannibal* Laws. Surely, said they, these "Men that oppose your Majesty in so gracious a "Work, do not consider what a Sovereign Prince, "by his Royal Power, can do. A Work which "Heaven smiles upon, and will reward with no less "a Blessing than a Prince of *Wales*".

Tryal of the Seven Bishops,

During the publick Rejoycings with which the Birth of the Prince of *Wales* was celebrated, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other six Bishops Prisoners in the *Tower* were brought to their Tryals at the *King's-Bench* Bar the 15th of *June*. But upon their Motion for a Respite, the Tryal was put off to the 29th of the same Month, and in the mean time they were set at Liberty upon their own Recognizance. The 29th of *June* being come, *Westminster-Hall* was crowded with great Numbers of Lords, Gentlemen, and other People to be Spectators of this famous Tryal. The King's Council pleaded that the Petition presented by the Bishops was a real and seditious Libel, tending to diminish the King's Prerogative, and to stir up Sedition amongst the People. The Council for the Bishops on the other Side retorted the Arguments of their Adversaries with great Force and Freedom, proving that the King having no Power to dispense with *Penal* Laws, a Petition humbly presented to remonstrate to him that he had no such Power, ought not to be esteemed a Libel: That it was injurious to the Bishops to accuse them of having published a Petition which they had respectfully presented to the King when he was alone, and without acquainting any Person with it: That the Occasion of presenting it was not sought by the Bishops, but pressed upon them: Nor could it be

be called a Libel becauſe the Intent was innocent, and they kept within the Bounds ſet by Act of Parliament. After long Pleadings on both Sides, the Judges in directing the Jury were not all of one Opinion. They were four in Number, of whom *Wright* the Chief-Juſtice, and *Allybone* were the King's Creatures. *Powell* was a Man of reputed Integrity, and *Holloway* was not behind him. *Wright* gave his Opinion, That the Petition preſented by the Biſhops was a Libel. *Holloway* ſaid, That if the Jury were ſatisfied that the Petition was preſented with no ill Intention, but only to ſhew the Reaſons of the Petitioner's Diſobedience to the King's Command, he could not think it to be a *Libel*. *Powell* maintained, That the Petition could not be a *Libel*, becauſe it was founded upon the King's Incapacity to diſpenſe with Laws, which was very true. *Allybone* aſſerted, That the Crime of the Biſhops was next Door to Treaſon. 1688.

who are acquitted.

The Jury withdrawing ſate up all Night, whether it was that they could not agree in their Verdict, or with Deſign to render it more publick and ſolemn. The next Morning the Court being aſſembled, and the *Hall* filled with infinite Crowds of People, the Jury pronounced the Biſhops *Not Guilty*. Immediately Shouts of Joy were heard through the Crowd, and the loudeſt Acclamations rung through the Cities of *Weſtminſter* and *London*. For ſeveral Hours nothing elſe was heard but repeated Shouts of both Cities, tranſported with the News of the Biſhop's Acquittal. Nor was this all. For the King being that Morning gone to the Army on *Hounſlow-Heath*, and dining in the Earl of *Feverſham*'s Tent, the News coming to the Camp, threw the whole Army into Extaſy and Acclamations, which ſtartled the King, and the whole Company. The Earl of *Feverſham* going out to know what was the Matter, immediately returned and told the King, *It was nothing but the Shouts of the Soldiers upon the News of the Biſhops being acquitted. Do you call that nothing?* ſaid the King;

Great Rejoicing in the City.

In the Army,

1688. King; *but so much the worse for them.* Notwithstanding the Mortification which this Acquittal gave the King, and several severe Prohibitions against all riotous Assemblies, the whole City was that Night illuminated, and numberless Bonefires proclaimed the general Joy. This was followed by almost all the great Towns in the Kingdom, and at *Norwich* particularly the Joy was excessive. This was a sensible Mortification to the King. He at first threatned to deliver the Bishops up to the *Ecclesiastical Commissioners*, and to shew his Resentment against the Judges, he turned out *Holloway* and *Powell*, and filled their Places with others.*

and thro' the whole Kingdom.

The King trys the Temper of his Army.

The King, being sensible of the general Disinclination of the People, resolved now to make use of open Force. But as his Army was absolutely necessary to back such a Resolution, he was willing first to try what relyance he might have on their Obedience. For this purpose he thought the best Way would be to communicate his Design to every Regiment singly and apart from the rest; not doubting that the Obedience of Two or Three would be attended with that of all the Rest. Accordingly, he commanded the Lord *Litchfield*'s Regiment to take their Arms, and ordered the Major to bid the Officers and Soldiers, who were unwilling to contribute to the Repeal of the *Test* and *Penal* Laws, *to lay down their Arms.* But it was with the utmost Astonishment that he saw the whole Regiment, two Captains and a few *Popish* Soldiers excepted, instantly lay down their Arms. He was for sometime Speechless, but at last recovering from his Surprize, he commanded the Soldiers *to take up their Arms again*, and sullenly told them, *That for the future he would not do them the Honour to ask their Advice.*

Finds it not at all favourable to his Designs.

It

* Sir *Robert Baldock* one of the King's Council in this Tryal, was made Judge in the Room of the Latter.

1688.

It was now eaſy to foreſee that a *Proteſtant* Army was a very improper Inſtrument to work with, for the Converſion of a Kingdom to Popery. He therefore reſolved to caſhier Numbers of *Proteſtant* Officers and Soldiers, and to fill the Vacancies with *Papiſts*. He immediately put his Deſign in Execution in ſome few Regiments; but it gave a Diſguſt to the whole Army. Shortly after reſolving to put a good Number of *Iriſh* Soldiers into the Duke of *Berwick*'s Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel *Beaumont*, followed by ſeveral other Officers, remonſtrated to the Duke, "That neither thoſe Gentlemen nor himſelf thought "it conſiſtent with their Honours, to have For-"reigners impoſed upon them —— and therefore "humbly petitioned, that they might have leave "to fill up their Companies with ſuch Men of their "own Nation as they ſhould judge moſt ſuitable to "the King's Service, or otherwiſe that they might "be permitted with all imaginable Duty and Re-"ſpect to lay down their Commiſſions". An Account of this being tranſmitted to the King, he immediately ordered the Lieutenant-Colonel and Five other Captains to be taken into Cuſtody, and tryed by a Court-Martial as Mutineers. It was at firſt believed that his Intention was to have had them condemned to Death, but ſome News from abroad altered the Sentence, and they were only caſhiered. The Fleet was no better diſpoſed than the Army to aſſiſt the King in his Deſigns. This appeared from an Attempt of Vice-Admiral *Strickland* to have had *Maſs* ſaid on board his Ship, which raiſed ſuch a Mutiny and Diſorder amongſt the Sailors, that it was with ſome Difficulty that the Officers ſaved the Prieſts from being thrown over Board.

Fills Vacancies in his Armies with Popiſh Officers and Soldiers,

but is oppoſed.

The Fleet in the ſame Temper with the Army.

The King's Situation was now ſuch, that it ſeemed he could neither go forward with Safety, nor receed with Honour. His Zeal for his Religion, his Principles of Government, his Temper naturally obſtinate, his Complyance with the Queen, Prieſts and Jeſuits, who inceſſantly ſurrounded him, allow-

1688. ed him not to leave his Work unfiniſhed. Beſides, he muſt for this purpoſe have changed his whole Scheme as well as his whole Counſel, and nothing is more rare than to ſee a Prince take ſuch Steps, before he is under a downright Neceſſity. But on the other Hand, he might eaſily apprehend how far he was from his Deſign, from the Diſpoſition of his Subjects, his Fleet, and his Army. He hoped nevertheleſs to be able to ſurmount all theſe Obſtacles, becauſe if, one the one Hand, one part of the People ſhewed a Repugnance in ſubmitting to his Will, he had however another Part which ſeemed diſpoſed to receive the Yoke with Submiſſion. There were among the *Biſhops* ſome who had cauſed the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience to be read in their Dioceſes. Theſe were the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Cheſter* and *Rocheſter*: Nay, the firſt had ſuſpended Thirty of the Clergy of his Dioceſe for refuſing to read it. And in *Cheſhire* ſome Curates, Rectors, and others, not contented with reading the Declaration, preſented moreover an Addreſs, wherein they tell his Majeſty, "That if the Matter of the Declaration were not according to their Wiſhes, yet the "Publiſhing of it was according to their Duty, "ſince it was iſſued out from the expreſs Prerogative of his Supremacy over them; ſo that they "could not but with Trouble of Mind hear of the "Proceedings of the Seven Biſhops, who, though "they tenderly promiſed the *Diſſenters* ſomething, "yet refuſed to do their Part about the *Declaration*, "leſt they ſhould be *Parties* to it, which Reaſon "the Addreſſers eſteem inſufficient. They therefore in all Submiſſion, become earneſt, though too "mean Interceſſors to his Majeſty in behalf of the "Church of *England*, that the Faults of theſe and "others may not be laid to her Charge, in "whoſe Communion there were many, and they "hoped there would be more, who concurred in "promoting the Purpoſes of his mild Government: "And ſo conclude with begging Leave to make

Some Biſhops are diſpoſed to come into the King's Meaſures.

Addreſs of the Cheſhire *Miniſters.*

"their Congratulations for the happy Birth of the "young Prince in his *Hereditary Succeſſive King-* "*dom.*" 1688.

The King intoxicated with ſuch Addreſſes, and flattering himſelf that Terrour would by Degrees bring all his Subjects to ſubmit to his Pleaſure, reſolved to puſh his Point whatever might be the Conſequence. But on the other Hand, he had the Mortification to hear that a Son of *Cartwright* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, who had procured this Addreſs, was refuſed a Fellowſhip in one of the Colleges at *Oxford*, and that one *Gifford*, nominated by him to the See of that City, was likewiſe denied his Doctor's Degree.

Order from the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners concerning the Reading of the Declaration,

But the Reſolution taken by the King and his Council was of a nature not to be ſhaken by any Obſtacles. Though the ſeven Biſhops had been acquitted of the pretended Crime laid to their Charge, the new *Eccleſiaſtical Court* did not think it ſelf bound by that Precedent. Wherefore the Commiſſioners by an Order made the 12th of *July*, "Commanded all "Chancellors, Archdeacons, Commiſſaries, and Of- "ficials, to enquire in what Churches and Chap- "pels his Majeſty's Declaration was read, and to "tranſmit an account thereof upon the 16th Day of "*Auguſt* next." But the greateſt part of thoſe to whom the Order was directed, never took any notice of it. The Commiſſioners being met on the ſame Day, were not a little puzzled how to proceed in this Matter. At laſt, after a long Conſultation, they contented themſelves with renewing their firſt Order, "Requiring all Perſons having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſ- "diction, to tranſmit to them upon the 15th of *No-* "*vember* next, an account of the Enquiry they are "hereby commanded to make in their Viſitations, "together with the Names of the Parſons, Rectors, "Vicars, and Curates, that had either obeyed, "or diſobeyed his Majeſty's Command." Affairs had taken ſuch a Turn before that Day came, that it could not be known what the Commiſſioners would

ſlighted.

A ſecond.

1688. have done farther; or whether this Order would have been better obeyed than the former.

Doctor *Sprat* Bishop of *Rochester*, one of the Bishops of the new Ecclesiastical Court, now thought it high Time to withdraw. He therefore writ to his Collegues a Letter, wherein he told them:

The Bishop of Rochester *leaves the Commissioners, and sends his Reasons.*

"That since there Lordships were resolved to "proceed against those, who had not complied with "the King's Command in Reading his *Declaration*, "it was absolutely impossible for him to serve his "Majesty any longer in that Commission." He proceeds farther and says, "That though I my self did "submit in that particular, yet I will never be any "ways instrumental in punishing those my Bre hren "who did not: For, as I call God to Witness, that "what I did was merely upon a Principle of Con-"science, so I am fully satisfied, that their Forbear-"ance was upon the same Principle." This Bishop was one of those on whom the Court had the firmest Reliance, and therefore his Defection could not but trouble the King extremely. Several have thought that this last Step was taken by him in Foresight of the Storm that was gathering; of which some Friend had given him timely notice.

From the Time of the Prince's Birth, those who had any Concern for their Religion or Country, saw clearly the Danger which threatened the one and the other. It was evident to Demonstration, that the King no longer pretended to govern by the Laws of the Land, but set up his own Will for the sole Rule and Measure of Government. He had already sufficiently discovered his Intention; so that nothing short of a total Subversion of the Government in Church and State could be expected. If this did not sufficiently authorize the most considerable Members of the State to form Measures for the Prevention of such a Design, I am at a loss to know what Difference there is between a Government, like that of *England*, limited by Laws, and one that is despotick

and

and abſolute. And yet it cannot be doubted that the Government of *England* is different from that of moſt other States. I am very ſenſible that the Subject is not without its Difficulties, and that it is no eaſy Matter to fix the Limits of the Subjects Obedience in *England*. While the Church of *England* was erroneouſly perſwaded that the King had no formed Deſign againſt the eſtabliſhed Government, but was only deſirous a little to enlarge his Prerogative, far from having any Thought to oppoſe him, ſhe found on the contrary a great Advantage from ſuch Enlargement, as by its Aſſiſtance a Return of thoſe Deſigns might be prevented, which had brought infinite Miſchiefs to the Nation in the Reign of *Charles* I. The *Presbyterians*, the *Independents*, the *Anabaptiſts*, had puſhed the Principles of the Republicans ſo far, and drawn ſuch terrible Conſequences from them, that on the Reſtoration of *Charles* II, it was thought in ſome manner neceſſary to go into the other Extream, by inveſting the King with a Power which, rightly conſidered, might have had Conſequences not leſs dangerous than thoſe which flow from *Republican* Principles. But in this the only View and Aim were the curbing the *Non-conformiſts* by the King's Prerogative, without conſidering that a Time might come when the King would turn the Power, thus given to him, againſt all his Subjects in general, and the Church of *England* in particular. That Time being now come under *James* II, the Church of *England* opened her Eyes, though ſomething of the lateſt, and ſaw that ſhe had been labouring for her own Deſtruction, in an avowed Maintenance and preaching of *Paſſive Obedience*, without any Reſtriction. It was from this Doctrine, inculcated ſo zealouſly and ſo long upon the Minds of the Laity, as an eſſential Doctrine of the Church of *England*, that thoſe fulſome Addreſſes proceeded, which loaded the King with ſo much Prerogative. And indeed as no Bounds had been ſet to the *Paſſive-Obedience-Doctrine*, Numbers of People did not conceive how they could, with a ſafe 1688.

1688. Conſcience, refuſe an unlimited Obedience to the Sovereign. But at laſt, the manifeſt Danger the Kingdom was in, gave Men of Senſe a Thought that ſomething was to be undertaken to limit the Royal Prerogative, without which Religion and the State were both ſinking together,

The Church of England *departs from former Principles: And takes Meaſures to oppoſe the King.*

Such being the Situation of Affairs, ſeveral of the principal Members of the Church of *England*, as well Clergymen as others, thought it high Time to enter upon Meaſures for ſtopping the King in his Carreer, and reducing his Power within ſome Bounds. Though themſelves had gone too far with him in his Deſigns, they thought it was better to retract a Doctrine (which might very juſtly be conſidered as the chief Source of the Nation's Misfortunes,) than bring the *State* and *Religion* to the Brink of Ruin by an obſtinate Adherence to it.

An Union projected between the Church of England *and the Presbyterians.*

The firſt and moſt neceſſary Step taken by them, in order to this, was the Project of a ſtrict Union between the Church of *England* and the *Non-conformiſts*, for their mutual Safety. This Union was, by the Conjuncture of the Times, become more eaſy than ever it had been before. The two Parties owned that their Diviſion was the only Cauſe of their Ruin. This was a ſtrong and preſſing Motive for their Union. The Church of *England* acknowledged that ſhe had carried the *Paſſive-Obedience-Doctrine* too far, and that it had produced bad Effects. She teſtified a Readineſs to comply with the Scruples of the *Presbyterians*, by giving up Ceremonies which might be deemed as indifferent, or at leaſt to leave every Man at Liberty to practiſe, or not practiſe them. This was all that the *Presbyterians* could reaſonably deſire. In ſhort, as the Members of the Epiſcopal Church appeared touched with the Calamities which their Rigours had occaſioned, ſo they ſeemed diſpoſed to more Condeſcendance, if Things ſhould be ſettled upon their antient Foundation. The *Presbyterians* on their Side, who had hitherto groundleſsly accuſed the Church of *England* of a Byaſs towards Popery, could

not

not forbear acknowledging their Errour, after the Firmneſs of the ſeven Biſhops had diſcovered the Injuſtice of this Accuſation. Theſe Diſpoſitions being well managed by prudent and well-meaning Men of either Party, produced at laſt an Uniformity of Sentiments, with regard to the principal Deſigns in View, namely, That it was abſolutely neceſſary to think of Meaſures for the Preſervation of Religion and the State, from the Danger which both were threatened with. Thoſe of the greateſt Authority on either Side took exceeding Pains to keep paſſionate Men, whoſe Views ſtopt a great deal ſhort of thoſe of their Leaders, within ſome Bounds. In a Word, without the King's Knowledge, the two Parties of *Whig* and *Tory* became reconciled, and reſolved to labour jointly for the Preſervation of their Country. But unfortunately this Union ended with the Danger. Be that as it will, it may be affirmed that this Reconciliation of the two Parties was the moſt fatal Blow that could be given to the King's Affairs, ſince his great Strength lay in their Diviſion. Father *Orleans* calls this Union a formed League againſt the King. It would be to no purpoſe to diſpute about this *Term*. The Queſtion is only to know, whether this Union, this League, or whatever other Name it may go by, was contrary to the Laws, to Conſcience, to the Duty which Subjects owe to their Sovereign. But for the Deciſion of this Queſtion, We are carefully to diſtinguiſh the Government of *England* from that of other *States*, and not confound on pretence of the Name of King, common to ſo many Princes, the Rights of one Sovereign with another, in order to apply to a King of *England*, every Thing that is aſſerted of Sovereignty in general. This was an Artifice frequent with *James* I. The Queſtion therefore is reduced to this, to know whether the Conſtitution of *England* being ſuch as this Hiſtory hath all along deſcribed it, *James* II had violated it in its moſt eſſential Parts; whether he had already changed or conſiderably altered it; whether there was room to fear 1688.

1688. an entire Subverſion; and whether the *Engliſh* were obliged to bear it without any Oppoſition. Of this my Readers will be cabable to judge from what they have hitherto ſeen. But even, ſuppoſing that *James* II had changed, or deſigned to change the eſtabliſhed Conſtitution, a ſtrong Objection lay againſt thoſe, who believed themſelves in Poſſeſſion of a Right to oppoſe the entire Execution of his Deſigns. This was the frequent Declarations of both the Parliament and the Church of *England*, ſince the Reſtoration, in favour of unlimited Power. This Objection was ſo ſtrongly impreſſed on the Minds of ſome Members of the Church of *England*, that they could not bring themſelves to a Reſolution of oppoſing the King's Deſigns, becauſe they looked on ſuch Oppoſition as a declared Rebellion. Several perſiſt in this Opinion even to this Day, and together with the *Papiſts* form the Party of thoſe called the *Jacobites*. Happily for *England*, the greateſt Part of the Clergy and Laity of her eſtabliſhed Church were of a contrary Opinion, and laboured effectually for the Preſervation of Religion and the Government in Conjunction with the *Whigs*, who made no Scruple of embarking with them in the ſame Deſign.

A Reſolution taken to call in the Prince of Orange

The Union between the *Whigs* and *Tories* being thus ſure, ſeveral Perſons of the firſt Rank, as well amongſt the Clergy as the Laity, projected a Plan for the Execution of the great Deſign for the Preſervation of *Church* and *State*. They ſaw no Expedient more promiſing than the putting the Prince of *Orange* at the Head of the Party which was forming againſt the King. That Prince was ſo intereſted in the Affair, that no Doubt was made of his Aſſiſtance to the utmoſt of his Power, as well for the Preſervation of *England*, as for ſecuring the Succeſſion to the Princeſs his Wife, who now ſaw herſelf defeated of her Right by a Prince, who generally paſſed for Suppoſititious. Theſe were Motives ſufficiently ſtrong to put the Prince of *Orange* in Action. But there was ſtill another, which in the Reaſon of Things muſt have

have a very great Effect upon him. This was the extreme Danger to which *Holland* would ſtand expoſed by King *James*'s Succeſs in his favourite Deſign, on account of the cloſe Union between him and the King of *France*. It was with this View that ſeveral great Perſons in good Time repaired to the *Hague*, on other plauſible Pretences, but in reality to confer with the Prince of *Orange*. The firſt were, Mr. *Sidney*, Brother to *Algernoon Sidney*, (beheaded in the laſt Reign) afterwards Earl of *Rumney*, Sir *Robert Peyton*, Sir *Rowland Gwin*, Doctor *Burnet*, and others. It is to be preſumed that Aſſurances were tranſmitted from them to their Friends in *England*, of the good Inclinations of the Prince to undertake the common Cauſe. In *July* one *Joſeph Flight* brought over into *England* near Fourſcore Letters from Perſons of Quality and Credit, and carried back the Anſwers to the *Hague*. The Affair being thus begun, the old Lord *Wharton*, on pretence of a Journey into *Germany*, took the *Hague* in his way. Colonel *Sidney* Uncle to the Earl of *Sunderland* went to the *Spaw*, the Pretence of which was to drink the Waters, but his real Intention was to viſit *Holland*. The Lord *Dunblain* Son to the Earl of *Danby*, and Commander of an Independent Frigate, croſſed and re-croſſed the Seas, to carry ſeveral Diſpatches and Reſolutions. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* mortgaged his Eſtate for forty Thouſand Pounds, and went over to the Prince to offer him both his Purſe and his Sword. He was immediately followed by Admiral *Herbert*, his Couſin Mr. *Herbert*, Mr. *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Mordaunt*, and the Earl of *Wiltſhire*. The principal Perſons with whom they held Correſpondence in *England*, were the Earls of *Danby*, *Devonſhire*, and *Dorſet*, the Lords *Lovelace* and *Delamere*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marqueſs of *Hallifax*, his Son the Lord *Eland*, the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, his Son the Lord *Pawlet*, the Lord *Willoughby* Son to the Earl of *Lindſey*, Mr. *Leſter*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Powle*, and Numbers more, beſides ſeveral eminent Citizens of *London*.

1688.

Several Engliſh *Noblemen and Gentlemen go over to him.*

The

1688. *The English Lords apply to the States-General;*

The Prince of *Orange* being come to a full Resolution of putting himself at the Head of the Party, it was, after several Consultations, resolved that the *English* Lords at the *Hague* should demand Assistance of the *States*, in the Name of all *England*. But to keep the Matter as Secret as might be, they applied at first only to Persons of the greatest Credit and Influence, who promised all their Assistance, when the critical Time should come to put the Design in Execution. Little Perswasion was wanted to prevail with the States to assist the distressed *English*. They were equally concerned in the Affair with the *English* themselves; as the Ruin of *Holland* would doubtless have soon followed the Slavery of *England*. Of this no doubt could be made, when the Designs of *Lewis* XIV, and his close Union with *James* II, were considered; all the Difficulty lay in the Preparations for this great Work, in the Concealment of it, in the raising Forces to supply the Place of those which the Prince should lead into *England*, and in securing a timely Relief, in case the King of *France* should fall upon *Holland*. But all these Exigencies were provided for with great Address and Secrecy. The Difference then on Foot about the Election of an Archbishop of *Cologne*, between Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria* and the Cardinal of *Furstemburg*, furnished the *States* with a Pretence for forming an Army near *Nimeguen*. On the other Hand, the Prince of *Orange*, by his Address, prevailed to have the Direction of Affairs then upon the Carpet, committed to the Management of three or four Members of the *States*, on Pretence of the Friends which the Count *D' Avaux* the *French* Ambassador had in *Holland*, and which might let him into their Resolutions. These Commissioners, all Creatures of the Prince of *Orange*, under Colour of the *Cologne* Affair, gave Orders for incamping an Army, and preparing a Fleet. In Conclusion, the Prince of *Orange*, on pretence of providing means to sustain the War against *France*, which seemed not far off, had an Interview at *Minden* in *Westphalia*, with the

are favourably heard.

The Affair of Cologne *made use of to cover the Design upon* England.

Measures of the Prince of Orange.

the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, the Princes of the Houſe of *Lunenbourg*, and the *Land-Grave* of *Heſſe Caſſel*, and ſecured their Aſſiſtance, in Caſe *France* ſhould fall upon *Holland* or the *Low-Countries*, while he was engaged in the *Engliſh* Expedition. All this was managed with ſo much Secrecy, that the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *England*, then at the *Hague*, could get no certain Intelligence of what was tranſacting. They were reduced to bare Conjectures, though the former had uſually been let into the Reſolutions of the States, as ſoon as they were taken. 1688.

His Plan.

After the Prince of *Orange* had aſſured the *States* of the Aſſiſtance of theſe Princes, he concerted his Expedition with ſuch Wiſdom and Secrecy, that the Plan of it could not be known until after the Execution. This Plan was, That the *States*, under Colour of being in Readineſs to ſupport the Election of the Prince of *Bavaria*, ſhould form a Camp on the Heath near *Nimeguen*, a Place too diſtant from the Sea to give any Suſpicion that theſe Troops were deſigned for an Imbarquement. That a Fleet of fifty Men of War, and a ſufficient Number of Tranſports, ſhould be got ready for the Imbarkation of twelve or thirteen thouſand Men: That, to prevent the Alarm which ſo great a Number of Tranſport Ships might give, the Merchants of *Amſterdam*, *Rotterdam*, and other Maritime Places, ſhould freight as many as they could on ſeveral Pretexts: That theſe Ships ſhould be ready in different Ports, at a Time aſſigned, to take Forces aboard, and afterwards to repair to the *Goeree*, where the Men of War ſhould attend them: That the Prince of *Orange* ſhould put himſelf Aboard this Fleet, and that on his Landing in *England*, the *Engliſh* Perſons of Quality, by whom he was invited, ſhould diſperſe themſelves into divers Parts of the Kingdom, to excite Inſurrections, and make Levies of Men, while the Prince with his little Army made Head againſt the King. It was not doubted but that the Prince's Army would receive

1688. ceive considerable Accessions on his landing in *England*, nor that the People would be wanting to second the Efforts of those, who were employed for their Deliverance. This whole Plan was executed in the Manner that It had been laid, without its being possible for the Ambassadors of *England* and *France* to penetrate into it with any Certainty. Yet they were not without their Conjectures, on Sight of the great Preparations relating to the Fleet, that something was secretly designing against *England*. Indeed it was difficult to get together four or five hundred Transports, and fifty Men of War so secretly, as that these Ambassadors should have no Intelligence of them from their Spies and Agents. The Count *D'Avaux* failed not to send his Conjectures to the Court of *France*, which immediately transmitted them to that of *England*. Moreover Mr. *Skelton*, King *James*'s Envoy at the *Hague*, had before informed him of an intercepted Letter, which intimated that a great Project was secretly carrying on against him. But the King was then so secure of Success in his Undertaking, that he neglected this Advice, believing it only an Artifice to draw him off from the Prosecution.

Advice sent from France *to* King James;

is neglected by him.

Skelton's *Advice neglected by the Earl of* Sunderland.

A little before Mr. *Bude de Vérace*, a Protestant of *Geneva*, late Gentleman to the Princess of *Orange*, having been dismissed from that Attendance with some disagreeable Circumstances, had returned to his own Country. After he had heard of the mighty Armament which was making in *Holland*, he writ to Mr. *Skelton*, then Envoy at *Paris*, that he was capable of giving the King great Light into the Designs of the Prince of *Orange*, and that, if his Majesty pleased, he would immediately repair to *London* to make good his Assertion. *Skelton* was not wanting to give Information to his Court, and to repeat it by five or six Letters. But no Notice was taken of it, whether this was owing to an over-confident Security, or that the Earl of *Sunderland*, to whom the

Letters were addreſſed, thought it not proper to communicate them to the King. 1688.

Mean while the Armament in *Holland* being no longer poſſible to be kept ſecret, and the King receiving repeated Advices of it, he judged it proper to flatter the People with the Expectation of a Parliament, let what would happen. Wherefore the 24th of *Auguſt* he declared in Council his Intention to call one for the 27th of *November*, and the Chancellor had Orders to iſſue out the *Writs* for Elections on the 5th of *September*. Nevertheleſs the *Writs* were not ſent, which gave juſt Reaſon of Suſpicion that this was only deſigned as an Amuſement. *The King orders Writs for calling of a Parliament.*

The next Day Mr. *de Bonrepos* arrived at *London* from *Paris*, and had ſeveral Conferences with the King. It is pretended thas he offered him from the King of *France* a Fleet, and an Army of thirty thouſand Men, but that the Offer was rejected through the Means of the Earl of *Sunderland*. The Reaſons urged by that Nobleman to diſſwade the King from accepting the Offer were ſaid to be, " That this " would be riſquing too much to introduce a foreign " Army into *England*, at the very Time that he was " thinking to call a Parliament. That by this Step he " would entirely loſe the Hearts of his Subjects, and " even of Thoſe who were moſt devoted to him. That " if the *French* ſhould take it into their Heads to ren- " der themſelves Maſters of the Kingdom, he would " find but very few who would joyn him to deliver " the Nation and himſelf from ſuch troubleſome " Friends, and that in accepting ſo large a Succour, " he expoſed himſelf to the Danger of turning Vice- " roy to *Lewis* XIV ". Some have pretended that this Advice was direct Treaſon in the Earl of *Sunderland*, who had been gained by the Prince of *Orange*. But this Accuſation ſtands only upon the ill Succeſs with which the King's Affairs were afterwards attended, and upon the Suppoſition that he would have ſucceeded in his Deſigns, had this Offer of the King of *France* been accepted. However that *Rejects the Offers of* France.

be,

1688. be, the King refuſed the Aid thus offered, becauſe he thought he had no need of it, and yet it is pretended that at this very Time he made a new Alliance with *Lewis*, but that the Treaty was never made Publick.

A new Treaty with France.

Memorial of the Marqueſs of Alby-ville *to the States;*

In the mean Time divers Intelligences being brought to the King that an Armament was making in *Holland*, he ordered the Marqueſs of *Albyville*, his Ambaſſador, to preſent a Memorial to the *States*, to demand of them the Reaſon of this Armament, and particularly of that by Sea, in this Seaſon of the Year.

Their Anſwer.

The *States* anſwered that they followed the Example of the King of *England*, who had a powerful Fleet and a numerous Army on Foot, without any Reaſon that they could gueſs at, and that they might with more Juſtice demand of him with what Views he had formed his late Alliance. This Anſwer increaſing the King's Suſpicions, he now began to take the neceſſary Meaſures for putting himſelf in a Poſture of Defence.

The King puts himſelf upon his Guard.

With this View he gave the Governments of *Portſmouth* and *Hull*, the Keys as it were of the Kingdom, to two *Papiſts*, and took Care to have the Majority of Officers and Soldiers in theſe Garriſons all of the ſame Religion.

But continues to flatter himſelf.

After all this, he could not yet perſwade himſelf that the Prince of *Orange* durſt attack him in earneſt. He had ſtill a Confidence in his Fleet and Army, though he had met with ſufficient Indications of the ill Humour they were in with regard to him. The Court of *France* could not gueſs at the Meaning of ſo amazing an Indolence; nor was *Skelton* leſs put to it to anſwer the Queſtion ſo often asked, why the King his Maſter refuſed the Aſſiſtance of *France*. He had no other Anſwer ready, but that he had no Inſtructions on that Article. At laſt in a Conference one Day with Monſieur *de Croiſſy* upon this Subject, he told him it was his private Sentiment, that if *France* would threaten to fall upon the *States-General*, in Caſe any thing was attempted by them againſt the King of *England*, ſuch a Declaration would break

Skelton's *Advice to the Court of* France.

break all the Prince of *Orange*'s Meaſures. The Court of *France* approving of this Thought, the Count *D'Avaux* preſented a Memorial to the *States* the 9th of *September*, in which he told them: 1688.

Memorial from Comte d'Avaux *to the States General.*

" That all Circumſtances inclined the King, his " Maſter, to believe with Reaſon, That the Arming " in *Holland* threatned *England*, therefore his Majeſty " had commanded him to declare to them, on his " Part, *That the Tyes of Friendſhip and Alliance between* " *him and the King of* Great-Britain, *would oblige him* " *not only to aſſiſt him, but alſo to look on the firſt* " *Acts of Hoſtility that ſhould be committed by their* " *Troops or their Fleet, againſt his Majeſty of* Great-" Britain, *to be a manifeſt Rupture of the Peace, and* " *a Breach with his Crown*".

The *States*, after an ambiguous Anſwer to this Memorial, demanded of the Marqueſs of *Albyville* the Meaning of the new Alliance formed between the two Kings. The ſame Demand was made upon the Court of *England* by the *States* Ambaſſador, *Van Citters*, to whom they ſent a Copy of the Memorial. Hereupon the King ſummoned a Council, in which the Earl of *Sunderland* obtained a Reſolution, that the King ſhould diſown the Proceedings of the Count *D'Avaux*. This Reſolution was immediately communicated to the Ambaſſador of the *States*, and to all the King's Miniſters in foreign Courts. Moreover to convince the Publick more effectually, that the King had no Hand in this Memorial preſented by the Count *D'Avaux*, *Skelton* was recalled, and on his Arrival immediately ſent to the *Tower*.

Diſowned by James.

On this Occaſion the Earl of *Sunderland* reaſoned upon the ſame Principle laid down by him, when the Aſſiſtance offered by *France* was in debate. It cannot be denied but his Reaſons appeared plauſible to the King. But then it is ſuppoſed by ſome that the King was miſtaken, and that it was not poſſible for the Earl of *Sunderland* to be miſtaken too. They therefore

Suſpicions againſt the Earl of Sunderland.

1688. therefore aſcribe his Counſels to a formed Deſign of betraying his Maſter. The Patrons of this Opinion, it is probable, are very much diſpleaſed that the King did not purſue a contrary Courſe by embracing the Offer of *France*. They are perſwaded that this would have broke all the Meaſures of the Prince of *Orange*; that he would never have dared to puſh his Undertaking; and that the King, with the Aſſiſtance of thirty thouſand Men, would have became abſolute Maſter of his Kingdom, and executed all his Purpoſes. But we are to conſider that this is a Suppoſition of an Event that was uncertain: That the Advice of the prime Miniſter preceeded the King's Diſaſter a few Months; and that to accuſe him of an Intention to betray the King, we are to ſuppoſe that he might have eaſily foreſeen what the King himſelf could not: In a Word, that he was ſecretly engaged with the Prince of *Orange*, of which notwithſtanding no poſitive Proof is offered. The moſt plauſible Suſpicion againſt him is owing to his being admitted into that Prince's Council and Confidence, when he was upon the Throne. But he was not the ſingle Miniſter of King *James*, who was thus favoured by King *William*. It is nevertheleſs certain that though the Earl of *Sunderland* had embraced the *Popiſh* Religion, he was ſtill ſuſpected by the *Papiſts*, who have no better Opinion of him to this Day. There are even ſome *Proteſtants*, who owning his betraying his Maſter, count this pretended Treachery as an Honour to him, ſince it was attended with ſo much Benefit to the Kingdom.

I ſaid before, that though the King had ordered Writs to be iſſued out for a new Parliament, the Order had never been executed. This appears clearly from a Proclamation of the 21ſt of *September*, in which the King ſuppoſed the Elections not yet begun. It imported:

"THAT

1688.

" THAT his Majeſty having already ſignified his Pleaſure to call a Parliament, leſt thoſe whoſe Right it was to chuſe Members, ſhould lie under any Prejudice and Miſtakes, through the Artifices of diſaffected Perſons, he thought it fit to declare, That it was his Royal Purpoſe to endeavour a Legal Eſtabliſhment of an *Univerſal Liberty of Conſcience* for all his Subjects; that it was alſo his Reſolution inviolably to preſerve the Church of *England*, by ſuch a Confirmation of the ſeveral Acts of *Uniformity*, that they ſhould never be altered any other Ways than by Repealing the ſeveral Clauſes, which inflict Penalties upon Perſons not promoted, or to be promoted to any Eccleſiaſtical Benefices within the Meaning of the ſaid Act, for Exerciſing their Religion contrary to the Purport of the ſaid Acts of *Uniformity*. And that for the further ſecuring, not only the Church of *England*, but the *Proteſtant* Religion in General, he was willing the *Roman Catholicks* ſhould remain incapable to be Members of the Houſe of Commons; whereby thoſe Fears and Apprehenſions would be removed, which many Perſons had had, *That the Legiſlative Authority would be engroſſed by them, and turned againſt Proteſtants*".

A Proclamation about a new Parliament.

This Proclamation was too obſcure and ambiguous to produce any good or great Effect. There was in it even a manifeſt Contradiction, in the Deſign to have the Penal Laws repealed, and at the ſame time the Acts of Uniformity preſerved. Beſides the King ſpoke only of excluding *Papiſts* from the Houſe of *Commons*, but not from *That* of the Lords. But what ſtill made a clearer Diſcovery of the King's Intention to amuſe his Subjects, was that the Writs for an Election of a new Parliament were never ſent.

Produces no great Effect.

1688. *Propoſals from the* French *Ambaſſador rejected.*

In the mean time having received from all Hands the Confirmation of the Prince of *Orange*'s Deſigns, he gave out ſeveral Commiſſions for the Augmentation of his Forces, and ordered ſome Regiments out of *Ireland*. At the ſame time his Orders were preſſing to have his Fleet in a good Poſture. *Monſieur Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, propoſed the writing to the King his Maſter to pray him to abandon the Siege of *Philipsburg*, carried on by the *Dauphin*, and to carry War into *Holland*. This Propoſal was ſupported by divers Members of the Council: But oppoſed by others on Pretence that ſuch a Step would deprive the King of the Confidence of his Subjects. This Reaſon prevailed the more eaſily, as the Prince of *Orange*'s Friends gave out that the Armament of *Holland* was only deſigned to prevent the Deſcent of the *French* in *England*.

The Earl of Feverſham *made General.*

At laſt the King being no longer able to doubt of the Prince of *Orange*'s Intention, appointed the Earl of *Feverſham* to command his Army, after that Poſt had been refuſed by the Count *de Roye*. The Command of the Fleet was given to the Lord *Dartmouth*. As the King was ſenſible that the current Report of a ſtrict Alliance formed between *Lewis* and himſelf, did him great Prejudice in the Minds of his Subjects, he uſed all his Care to ſtifle it. For this Purpoſe he ordered the Marqueſs of *Albyville* to preſent a Memorial to the *States*, to aſſure them from him that there was no other Treaty between *France* and him, but what was publick and printed. He moreover offered the *States* to enter into Meaſures with them, for preſerving the Peace of *Nimeguen*, and the *Twenty-Years* Treaty concluded in 1684. But the *States* whether better informed than the King imagined, or from other Reaſons, payed no Regard to this Memorial. On the contrary the Penſionary of *Holland* frankly owned to the Marqueſs of *Albyville* that the Prince of *Orange* having been invited by the *Engliſh* Nobility, was preparing to carry them the deſired

King James *diſowns the Treaty with* France.

The Prince's Expedition declared.

desired Assistance for the restoring the Government on its antient Foundation, which King *James* had quite unhinged. 1688.

The King in a Consternation.

It seems that till this time the King had preserved some Hope either that the *States* had another Design, or that the Prince only intended to intimidate him, for the Prevention of his great Work. But after this Advice received from his Ambassador, and with an Addition that Numbers of *English* were at the *Hague* in order to accompany the Prince in his Expedition, he discovered the utmost Consternation, and so did his whole Council. Indeed it was easy to imagine that the Prince had not projected this Design, without private Assurances of Incouragement from the greatest Part of the *English*. This Reflection made the King begin to see the vast Disproportion there was between the *Protestants* and *Papists* in Point of Numbers, and consequently the small Hopes he could entertain of being supported by the Latter. In this melancholy Reflection he believed his best Refuge was to recover the Church of *England* to his Interests. He still relied on her being immoveable in the *Passive-Obedience-Doctrine*, and that by some Satisfaction given to her he should secure her Allegiance, after which he might safely defy the Efforts of the Prince of *Orange*. For this Purpose he sent for the Bishops that were then in *London*; namely, *Winchester*, *Chichester*, *Peterborough*, *Rochester*, *Ely*, *Bath and Wells*, and told them that he had sent for them to ask their Advice in the present Conjuncture. He assured them of his Readiness to do whatever should be thought necessary for the Preservation of the *Protestant* Religion and the Liberties of his Subjects, without Prejudice to the Rights of the Crown. He concluded with saying that this Affair called for a mature Examination, and therefore prayed them to go and consult together, in order to give him their Advice. The Bishops withdrew, and immediately crossed the Water to *Lambeth* to form along with the

resolves to consult the Bishops.

1688. Archbiſhop (then indiſpoſed) the Plan of the Advice which they ſhould offer to the King.

Proclamation againſt the Prince of Orange's *Invaſion.*

The 28th of *September*, the King iſſued out a Proclamation to inform his Subjects, "That his Majeſty had received undoubted Advice, that a great "and ſudden Invaſion from *Holland* with an armed "Force of Foreigners, would ſpeedily be made in "an Hoſtile Manner; and although ſome falſe Pretences, relating to *Liberty*, *Property*, and *Religion*, "contrived and worded with Art and Subtlety, "might be given out, it was manifeſt however, that "no leſs Matter by this Invaſion was propoſed, "*than an abſolute Conqueſt of theſe his Majeſty's Kingdoms, and the utter ſubduing and ſubjecting them, and "all his People to a foreign Power*, which was promoted by ſome of his Subjects, being Perſons of wicked and reſtleſs Spirits, implacable Malice, and deſperate Deſigns; who having no Senſe of the Miſery of former inteſtine Diviſions, nor being moved by his Majeſty's reiterated Acts of Mercy, did "again endeavour to embroil this Kingdom in "Blood and Ruin, to gratify their own Ambition "and Malice, propoſing to themſelves a Prey and "Booty in ſuch a publick Confuſion. That though "his Majeſty had Notice, that a foreign Force was "preparing againſt him, yet he had always declined "any foreign Succours, but rather had choſen to "rely upon the true and antient Courage, Faith, and "Allegiance of his own People, with whom he had "often ventured his Life for the Honour of this "*Nation*, and in whoſe Defence againſt all Enemies, he was firmly reſolved to live and die; and "therefore his Majeſty ſolemnly conjured his Subjects to lay aſide all Animoſities, Jealouſy, and "Prejudices, and heartily and chearfully to unite "together, in the Defence of him and their Native "Country. That albeit the Deſign had been carried on with all imaginable Secrecy, and Endeavours to ſurprize and deceive his Majeſty, yet "he

" he had not been wanting on his Part, to make 1688.
" ſuch Proviſions as did become him, and made no
" Doubt of being found in ſo good a Poſture,
" that his Enemies might have Cauſe to repent their
" raſh and unjuſt Attempts. In the Concluſion, his
" Majeſty declared, That he did intend to have met
" his Parliament in *November* next, and that the
" *Writs* were iſſued forth accordingly, propoſing to
" himſelf, amongſt other Things, That he might be
" able to quiet the Minds of all his People in Mat-
" ters of *Religion*, but that in Regard of this ſtrange
" Attempt, deſigned to divert his ſaid Gracious
" Purpoſes, he found it neceſſary to recal his fore-
" ſaid *Writs*, &c".

Though the King pretended an entire Reliance on the *Faith* and *Allegiance* of his own Subjects, he nevertheleſs well enough knew the Cauſe he had given by his Government not to make himſelf too ſure of their Affection. He therefore thought it neceſſary to give them more ſenſible Proofs of his Sincerity and good Intention, than empty Words. To this End he took off the Biſhop of *London*'s Suſpenſion, and appointed Sir *John Chapman* a *Churchman* to ſucceed Sir *John Eyles*, the preſent Lord-Mayor of *London*, who was an *Anabaptiſt*. Moreover being informed that the Biſhops would adviſe him to reſtore the *City-Charter*, he ſent for the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and told them, " That he
" reſolved to reſtore them to their antient Charter
" and Privileges, and to the Condition they were
" in before they loſt the ſame". The ſame Day the 2d of *October* he publiſhed a general Pardon by Proclamation, out of which were excepted Sir *Robert Peyton*, Sir *Rowland Gwin*, Dr. *Burnet*, Major *Wildman*, *Samuel Johnſon*, *Titus Oates*, *Robert Ferguſon*, and ten others leſs known: But all this was not capable to ſatisfy the People, who aſpired to a Deliverance more ample and more certain.

The Biſhop of London *reſtored, and a new Lord-Mayor appointed.*

The King promiſes to reſtore the City Charter.

1688. The Day after, the 3d of *October*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, attended by eight other Biſhops, repaired to *Whitehall*, and was admitted to immediate Audience. After a ſhort Speech, he preſented to the King the Reſult of their Conference drawn up in ten Articles, which were at once ſo many Advices to him, and Reproaches upon his paſt Government. Theſe Advices were:

"I. To put the whole Management of his Go-
"vernment, in the ſeveral Counties, into the Hands
"of ſuch of the Nobility and Gentry there as
"were legally qualified for it.

"II. To annul his Commiſſion for *Eccleſiaſtical*
"*Affairs*; and that no ſuch Court be erected for
"the future.

"III. That no *Diſpenſation* might be granted or
"continued, by virtue whereof any Perſon not
"duly qualified by Law, had been put into any
"Place, Office, or Preferment in Church or State,
"or in the Univerſities, or continued in the ſame,
"eſpecially ſuch as had Cure of Souls annext to
"them; and particularly that he would reſtore the
"Preſident and Fellows of St. *Mary Magdalen* Col-
"lege in *Oxford*.

"IV. To ſet aſide all *Licences* or *Faculties*, by
"which any Perſon of the *Romiſh* Communion might
"pretend to be enabled to teach publick Schools.

"V. To deſiſt from the Exerciſe of his *diſpenſing*
"*Power*, and to permit that Point to be calmly and
"freely debated, and finally ſettled in Parlia-
"ment.

"VI. To inhibit the four foreign Biſhops, who
"ſtiled themſelves *Vicars Apoſtolical*, from farther
"invading the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, which by
"Law was veſted in the Biſhops of the Church of
"*England*.

"VII. To fill the vacant Biſhopricks, and other
"Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, within his Gift, both
"in *England* and *Ireland*, with Men of Learning

"and

" and Piety: And in particular, (which the Arch- 1688.
" biſhop owned to be his peculiar Boldneſs, ſince
" it was done without the Privity of his Brethren)
" *forthwith to fill the Archiepiſcopal Chair of* York
" (*which had ſo long ſtood empty, and upon which a*
" *whole* Province *depended*) *with ſome very worthy*
" *Perſon: For which he was bold to ſay, his Majeſty*
" *had then before him a very fair Choice.*

" VIII. To ſuperſede all farther Proſecutions of
" *Quo Warranto*'s againſt Corporations, and to re-
" ſtore to them their antient Charters and Privileges;
" as they heard God had put into his Heart for the
" City of *London*, which they intended otherwiſe to
" have made one of their principal Requeſts.

" IX. That Writs might be iſſued out with con-
" venient ſpeed, for calling of a free and regular
" Parliament, in which the *Church* of *England* might
" be ſecured according to the *Acts* of *Uniformity*:
" Proviſion might be made for a due *Liberty of*
" *Conſcience*, and for ſecuring the Liberties and Pro-
" perties of all his Subjects, and a mutual Confi-
" dence might be eſtabliſhed between his Majeſty
" and all his People.

" X. Above all, that his Majeſty would be
" pleaſed to permit his Biſhops, to offer ſuch Mo-
" tives and Arguments, as (they truſted) might,
" by God's Grace, be effectual to perſuade his
" Majeſty to return to the Communion of the
" *Church of England*, into which moſt Holy *Catho-*
" *lick Faith* he was baptized, in which he was edu-
" cated, and to which, it was their daily earneſt
" Prayer to God, that he might be re-united."

Theſe Advices clearly ſhow that every thing hi-therto delivered concerning King *James*'s Govern-ment, is by no means ſupported by the publick Ca-lumnies of his Enemies. For how on the 3d of *October* (a Month before the Prince of *Orange*'s Arrival, and at a time when Events were uncertain) could theſe Nine Biſhops conſpire together to re-

1688. proach the King with a Violation of the Laws in all these Articles, under colour of giving him Counsel? Besides, these Advices agree in the main with the Declaration of the Prince of *Orange*, signed at the *Hague* at the very time that the Bishops were consulting together at *London*. In short, the Measures taken by the King two Days after invincibly prove the Truth of these Facts. Wherefore the Partizans of King *James* are confined to this Plea, either that he had a Right to act as he had done, or that, supposing he had no such Right, his Subjects were bound to unreserved Submission. But this is not the Place for the Discussion of these Questions.

King James takes some Steps towards the Redress of Grievances.

The King being fully sensible that a Refusal to comply with the Advice given him by the Bishops, would only increase the Suspicion of his Subjects, resolved, though probably with regret, to execute the greatest Part of it. For this purpose two Days after, the *Ecclesiastical High-Commission Court* was dissolved. The next Day the Lord-Chancellor had Orders to carry back in Person the Charter of *London*. The Lord-Lieutenants of the several Counties were required to inform themselves of the Abuses and Irregularities committed in the late *Regulations* of Corporations, in order to redress the same. The Bishop of *Winchester*, Visitor of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, was ordered to settle that Society regularly, and according to their Statutes. A Proclamation was issued out for restoring Corporations to their antient Charters, Liberties, Rights, and Franchises. The Lord-Lieutenants were displaced in several Counties. *Popish* Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Recorders, and other Magistrates were removed, and *Protestants* put in their Places. Thus in the Space of about twelve Days, that formidable Fabrick was in effect, or in a great Measure demolished, which the *Romish* Cabal had spent near four Years in erecting.

Gives occasion for new Suspicions.

But all this was not capable to restore the King to the Confidence of his Subjects, because it came too late, and seemed rather the Effect of Necessity than Incli-

Inclination. No other Reaſon could be imagined of the King's deſtroying with his own Hands the Work which himſelf had raiſed, beſides that of his Fear to ſee himſelf deſerted on the Arrival of the Prince of *Orange*, which was every Day expected. From whence the Inference was, that the King's Condeſcention would continue no longer than his Danger. The Suſpicion in a very little time roſe into Certainty. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* having, purſuant to the King's Order, cauſed a Citation to be fixed on the Gates of *Magdalen College* to recall Dr. *Hough* and the ejected Fellows of that Society, upon the News of the Diſperſion of the Prince's Fleet by a Tempeſt, was recalled on ſome frivolous Pretence, and the Reſtoration of the College deferred. But afterwards, upon this News proving falſe, the King reſumed his Affection for the Univerſity, and the College was actually reſtored. This did extreme Prejudice to the King's Affairs, in letting the World ſee that his Changes in favour of the *Proteſtants* were only Amuſements, till he could be in a Condition to undo all, without fear or Oppoſition. Such of his Subjects as had fallen into the Snare, and believed the King was in earneſt, now loſt all their former Confidence in him. Wherefore *James* ſaw himſelf at once reduced to the Aſſiſtance of his *Popiſh* Subjects alone, who were utterly incapable to reſtore his Affairs daily advancing to Ruin. 1688.

Augments his Forces.

As his whole Truſt and Reliance were now confined to his Army, he applied himſelf, with all his Might, to augment and ſtrengthen it with Troops which ſhould wholly depend on him. In Obedience to Orders already given by him, Two Thouſand Five Hundred Men landed at *Cheſter* from *Ireland*, and Three Thouſand *Scots* were advanced as far as *Carliſle*. Beſides this, new Commiſſions were granted to raiſe Ten Regiments of Horſe and Foot, not to mention ſeveral independent Companies. All the Militia had Orders to hold themſelves in a Readineſs to march on the firſt Summons. Laſtly, a Pro-

1688. *Takes new Precautions.*

a Proclamation was publiſhed, commanding all Horſes, Oxen and Cattle to be drawn and removed to the Space at leaſt of Twenty Miles, from the Places where the Enemies ſhould attempt to land. This was all that lay in his Power. But he was incapable either to bring his Subjects to ſecond him with any Affection, or his Troops to ſerve him with Fidelity. Wherefore it was not upon an Army of Thirteen or Fourteen Thouſand Men that the Prince of *Orange* relied, but upon the Diſpoſition of the *Engliſh*, who impatiently expected his Arrival: Without this ſo ſmall an Army would have been able to do nothing towards the Conqueſt of *England*.

Shuts up the Popiſh Chapels.

In the mean time the Mob of *London* growing inſolent on the Hopes of ſpeedy Aſſiſtance, began to inſult the *Popiſh* Chapels, wherefore the King ordered them to be ſhut up, for fear of an Inſurrection in ſo dangerous a Conjuncture. On the other Hand, a great many *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits ſeeing a Storm approaching, and preſaging nothing good from the Diſpoſition of the People, and the preſent Conſternation of the Court, began gradually to diſappear, and to conſult their own Safety by a timely Retreat to foreign Parts.

The Prince of Wales *baptized.*

In the midſt of all theſe Diſtractions, the King cauſed the Prince of *Wales* to be ſolemnly baptized; the *Pope*, repreſented by his *Nuncio*, being Godfather, and the Queen-Dowager Godmother. Father *Saben* officiated, and his Names were *James-Francis-Edward*.

At the ſame time the Court received a Pamphlet, publiſhed in *Holland*, and entitled, *A Memorial of the* Engliſh *Proteſtants, preſented to their Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange. It was aſcribed to Dr. *Burnet* or Major *Wildman*, and after a long Narrative of the Grievances of the Nation, complained of King *James*'s obliging his Subjects to own a ſuppoſititious Child for the Prince of *Wales*, adding, *That his Majeſty would never ſuffer the Witneſſes that were preſent at the Queen's Delivery to be heard and*

examined. The King was no Stranger to the Suſpicions entertained by the People on this Occaſion, but hitherto he had pretended to be ignorant of, or at leaſt to deſpiſe them. Nevertheleſs, on this occaſion he was ſenſible his Neglect to anſwer ſuch a Challenge would be very prejudicial to him. He therefore held an extraordinary Council the 22d of *October*, to which were ſummoned the Queen-Dowager, all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal then in Town, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, the Judges, and ſeveral of his Majeſty's learned Council. All theſe being aſſembled, the King told them, 1688.

The King calls an extraordinary Council to prove the Birth of the Prince of Wales.

His Speech to them.

"HE had called them together upon a very extraordinary Occaſion; but that extraordinary Diſeaſes muſt have extraordinary Remedies; That the malicious Endeavours of his Enemies had ſo poiſoned the Minds of ſome of his Subjects, that by the Reports he had from all Hands, he had reaſon to believe that very many did not think this Son, with which God had bleſſed him, *to be his, but a ſuppoſed Child.* But, he might ſay, that by a particular Providence, ſcarce ever any Prince was born where there were ſo many Perſons preſent. That he had taken this time to have the Matter heard and examined there, expecting that the Prince of *Orange*, with the firſt *Eaſterly* Wind, would invade this Kingdom: And as he had often ventured his Life for the Nation before he came to the Crown, ſo he thought himſelf more obliged ſo to do now he was King, and did intend to go in Perſon againſt him, whereby he might be expoſed to Accidents; and therefore he thought it neceſſary to have this now done, in order to ſatisfy the Minds of his Subjects, and to prevent the Kingdom's being engaged in Blood and Confuſion after his Death; That he had deſired the Queen-Dowager to give herſelf the Trouble to come hither, to declare what ſhe

"knew

1688. "knew of the Birth of his Son; and that moſt of "the Ladies, Lords, and other Perſons who were "preſent, were ready to depoſe upon Oath their "Knowledge of the Matter."

Depoſitions taken. After this Speech Depoſitions were heard; firſt of the Queen-Dowager, who only ſaid, *That ſhe was in the Room when the Queen was delivered*, without any thing more poſitive or particular. After her followed Forty Witneſſes, of which Seventeen were *Papiſts*, and it was firſt proved that the Queen had been brought to Bed while a great many Perſons were in her Chamber. To this Proof were confined the Teſtimonies of the Eighteen Lords who accompanied the King thither. This Proof was either nothing to the purpoſe, or very ambiguous. It was never doubted that there were a great Number of Perſons in the Room at the Time of the Queen's pretended Delivery. Yet this was all that this Teſtimony tended to. But the Reality of the Birth was very weakly proved by it. Some of the Ladies depoſed that they had ſeen the Child ſoon after in the Arms of the Midwife. But as no Perſon in the Council durſt put any Queſtions relating to divers Circumſtances, theſe general Depoſitions were incapable to remove all Suſpicions. The Midwife depoſed poſitively, that ſhe had taken the Child from the Queen's Body. The Counteſs of *Sunderland* depoſed, that the Queen called her to give her her Hand, that ſhe might feel how the Child lay, *which*, added ſhe, I *did*, but ſhe did not ſay whether ſhe felt the Child or not. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* adds, That the Counteſs of *Sunderland* told the Dutcheſs of *Hamilton*, (from whom he had this particular) that when ſhe put her Hand into the Bed, the Queen held it and let it go no lower than her Breaſts, ſo that really ſhe felt nothing. Many Ladies depoſed, That they had often ſeen the Marks of Milk on the Queen's Linnen near her Breaſts. Two or three depoſed, That they ſaw it running out at the Nipple. But what is remarkable,

Burnet, p. 785.

none

none of theſe Ladies named the Time in which they ſaw this ſame Milk, except one, who named the Month of *May*. Now if it be true, as was ſaid above, that the Queen was really with Child till the 9th of *April*, and that ſhe miſcarried that Day, then all that was mentioned of Milk in the Queen's Breaſts, particularly by her that fixed it to the Month of *May*, might have followed upon that Miſcarriage, and be no proof concerning the late Birth. Mrs. *Pierce* the Laundreſs depoſed, That ſhe took Linnen from the Queen's Body once which carried the Marks of a Delivery. The Biſhop objects here, that it is ſtrange ſhe ſhould ſpeak only to one Time. The Lady *Wentworth* was the ſingle Witneſs that depoſed, That ſhe had felt the Child move in the Queen's Belly, but ſhe fixed it to no Time. 1688.

Remarks upon theſe Depoſitions.

In general, we ſee in few words the Uſe we are to make of the Suſpicions mentioned by ſeveral Authors, and the Depoſitions juſt taken notice of, namely, that three different Caſes lying before us, in none of which two of the Parties are agreed, theſe Depoſitions are not applicable to any of theſe Caſes, without being contradicted by thoſe who maintain one of the other two. Let us take for inſtance the two Depoſitions which, next to that of the Midwife, appear the moſt convincing, *viz.* That of the Lady who had ſeen Milk run from the Queen's Breaſts; and that of the Lady *Iſabella Wentworth*, who had felt the Child ſtir in the Womb. Theſe two Teſtimonies are full againſt thoſe who maintain that the Queen was not with Child from the Month of *January*, the time of her declared Pregnancy, to the 10th of *June*, the time of her Delivery. But they are inſufficient againſt thoſe who pretend that ſhe was really with Child from the 6th of *October* to the 9th of *April*, when ſhe had a Miſcarriage, for Reaſons given above. Wherefore to be able to give a poſitive Judgement concerning the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, it is requiſite, 1. That Facts be agreed in,

1688. in, I mean whether it be true that the Queen was really with Child, and that ſhe had a Miſcarriage. 2. That thoſe who draw their Suſpicions from the Queen's obſtinate Refuſal to give Satisfaction to the Publick, fix the time of this Obſtinacy to the Interval between the 9th of *April*, the Day of her pretended Miſcarriage, and the 10th of *June*, the Day of her Delivery. For in ſuppoſing the Reality of her Pregnancy till *Eaſter* Week, the Suſpicions drawn from the *Obſtinacy* of the Queen cannot but be ill-grounded, unleſs this *Obſtinacy* is confined to the Space of time, between the Miſcarriage and the Delivery, which it is not. 3. That the two Ladies who depoſed concerning the Milk and the ſtirring of the Child, ſhould have fixed the Time to the ſame Interval, without which their Teſtimony proves nothing againſt thoſe who maintain that the Queen was really with Child till *Eaſter* Week, and had then a Miſcarriage: but this is what we find not. As to the Teſtimony of the Midwife, which is the principal and moſt poſitive, all that can be objected to it is, that it is a ſingle Teſtimony, and that beſides ſhe being a *Papiſt* might have been corrupted. But this is only a Conjecture, a bare Poſſibility. It is therefore clear, that for the deciding of this Queſtion in a manner capable to ſatisfy thoſe who are only deſirous of coming at the Truth, a more perfect Knowledge muſt be had of a great Number of Circumſtances which as yet lie concealed.

The Suſpicions not removed by the Depoſitions.

The King's Precaution produced not the deſired Effect. The Suſpicion of an Impoſture was ſo deeply rooted in the Minds of moſt of the *Engliſh*, that this Examination only confirmed inſtead of removing it. The myſterious Conduct which had been obſerved, at a time when, conſidering the general Suſpicion, all poſſible Precautions ought to have been taken to put the Birth out of all diſpute, made a ſtronger Impreſſion than all theſe Teſtimonies, and the rather, becauſe they were found to be very defective.

fective. Before this Examination the Presumption was for the Prince, as he was owned by both Parents. It belonged to the Suspectors of the Imposture to have detected and proved it. But after the King had undertaken to prove the Reality of the Birth of his Son, by Forty Witnesses, of which more than Thirty said nothing material, and the rest fixed no time to what they deposed, he left room to his Enemies to object against these very Depositions. 1688.

The King's own Testimony was to no better purpose. After the Witnesses were examined, he told the Assembly,

The King's Speech after the Examination of the Witnesses.

"That the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark* would have "been present; but that she being with Child likewise, and having not lately stirred Abroad, could "not come so far without Hazard: Adding further, "That though he did not question but every Person there present were satisfied before in this Matter, yet by what they had heard, they would be "better able to satisfy others: That besides, if he "and the Queen could be thought so wicked as to "endeavour to impose a Child upon the Nation, "they saw how impossible it would have been; "neither could he himself be imposed upon, having "constantly been with the Queen during her being "with Child, and the whole time of her Labour. "That there was none of them but would easily "believe him, who had suffered so much for *Conscience* sake, uncapable of so great a Villany, to "the Prejudice of his own Children; and that he "thanked God that those that knew him, knew well, "that it was his Principle to do as he would be "done by, for *That was the Law and the Prophets*; "and he would rather die a Thousand Deaths, than "do the least Wrong to any of his Children."

The Depositions are record'd.

The Reasons alledged by the King in this Speech were far from being convincing, since those who believed

1688. lieved the Impoſture, were perſuaded that the King was the principal Actor in it, in ſpight of all his Aſſeverations, which were but little regarded. It is a ſad thing for a King to be no longer believed by the Majority of his Subjects. The Depoſitions thus taken were ſolemnly enrolled in *Chancery*, and afterwards printed and diſperſed among the People. But this did not prevent the Belief then, and now, of the greateſt Part of the *Engliſh*, that the Prince of *Wales* was ſuppoſititious. Wherefore this Birth remains hitherto involved in great Uncertainty, and probably will do ſo many Years longer. For it is to be obſerved that after the King and Queen had withdrawn into *France*, there was no finding either the Midwife or the Queen's Ladies, who had ſwore to the moſt material Circumſtances relating to the Pregnancy or the Delivery.

The Earl of Sunderland *removed from all his Places.*

The 28th of *October* the Earl of *Sunderland* was ſuddenly removed from his Places of Preſident of the Council, and Principal Secretary of State. It is believed that *Skelton*'s Letters to him, and his Neglect of them, were the principal Cauſes of his Diſgrace. He himſelf ſays, to remove the Objection of his Neglect of theſe Letters, *That* Skelton *never wrote but Second-hand News.* But it was not only concerning theſe Letters that he was to clear himſelf. One *Wickſtead*, formerly a Monk, being taken up for holding Correſpondence with the Enemies of the King, charged the Earl of *Sunderland* to his Face with revealing his Majeſty's Secrets to the Prince of *Orange*. But being committed to the Cuſtody of a Meſſenger, he made his Eſcape the next Day. However the Matter be, it is certain that for ſome time, that Lord was ſuſpected by the *Papiſts*, who in all Appearance perſuaded the King of his ſecret Intelligence with the Prince of *Orange*. He publiſhed afterwards an Apology, but the Diſcuſſion of this Affair would lead me too far from my Deſign.

As

As the Prince of *Orange* was expected with the firſt Eaſterly Wind, ſome of thoſe who had paid the moſt implicit Obedience to the King in the Time of his Proſperity, thought proper to ſecure themſelves by Letters of Pardon for what they had acted contrary to the Laws. Amongſt theſe were Chancellor *Jefferies*, Sir *Nicholas Butler*, the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, and about Twenty more. The King without Heſitation granted the deſired Pardons. 1688 *Letters of Pardon granted to ſeveral of the moſt obnoxious Perſons.*

While theſe Things were tranſacting in *England*, the neceſſary Diſpoſitions were making in *Holland* for the Relief of the *Engliſh*. For it was upon this Foot that the *States* lent their Troops to the Prince of *Orange*; and what the King of *England* called an Invaſion, in *Holland* went by the Name of a *Brotherly Aſſiſtance lent by the States and the Prince to the diſtreſſed* Engliſh. There is ſcarce a Man that can poſſibly believe that the Prince of *Orange* at the Head of thirteen or fourteen Thouſand Men, would have undertaken a Deſcent upon *England*, had he not been aſſured of a favourable Reception there by the greateſt Part of the *Engliſh*. But as it was neceſſary to remove the Jealouſy fomented by the King, that the Prince came to conquer and ſubdue *England*, he thought it neceſſary by a Declaration to give the true Motives of his Undertaking. This *Manifeſto* or Declaration dated the 10th of *October*, New Stile, was divided into Twenty-ſix Articles, reducible to theſe three general Heads:

The Prince of Orange's Declaration.

"The *Firſt*, contained a particular Enumeration "of the Grievances of the *Engliſh* Nation, eſpecially "the King's Arrogating to himſelf a *diſpencing Power*: "His Advancing *Papiſts* to Civil, Eccleſiaſtical, and "Military Employments, and Allowing them to ſit "in the Privy-Council: His Setting up an illegal "*Commiſſion* for *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*, in which there "was one of his Miniſters of State, who made pub-"lick Profeſſion of the *Popiſh* Religion, and who "at the Time of his firſt Profeſſing it, declared,

1688. " *That for a great while before, he had believed that to*
" *be the only true Religion*; and by which not only
" the Biſhop of *London* was ſuſpended, but the Pre-
" ſident and Fellows of *Magdalen College* arbitrarily
" turned out of their Freeholds, contrary to that ex-
" preſs Proviſion in *Magna Charta*, *That no Man*
" *ſhall loſe his Life or Goods but by the Laws of the*
" *Land*: His Allowing *Popiſh* Monaſteries and Col-
" leges of *Jeſuits* to be created: His Turning out of
" Publick Employments all ſuch as would not con-
" cur with him in the Repeal of the *Teſt* and *Penal*
" *Laws*: His Invading the Privileges, and ſeizing
" on the Charters of moſt Corporations, and placing
" *Popiſh* Magiſtrates in ſome of them: His Subject-
" ing the Courts of Judicatory to his Arbitrary and
" Deſpotick Power, and Putting the Admini-
" ſtration of Juſtice into the Hands of *Papiſts*: His
" not only Arming the *Papiſts*, in Contempt of the
" Laws, but likewiſe Raiſing them up to the greateſt
" Military Truſts, both by Sea and Land, Stran-
" gers as well as Natives, and *Iriſh* as well as *En-*
" *gliſh*, that he might be in a Capacity to enſlave
" the Nation: His Putting the whole Government
" of *Ireland* into the Hands of *Papiſts*: His Aſſu-
" ming an *Abſolute* and *Arbitary Power* in the King-
" dom of *Scotland*; from which it was apparent what
" was to be looked for in *England*."

Secondly, his Highneſs alledged, " That thoſe
" great and inſufferable Oppreſſions, and the open
" Contempt of all Law, together with the Appre-
" henſions of the ſad Conſequences that muſt cer-
" tainly follow upon it, had made the Subjects to
" look after ſuch Remedies as are allowed of in all
" Nations, and in the moſt *abſolute* Monarchies, all
" which had been without Effect; his Majeſty's evil
" Counſellors having endeavoured to make all Men
" apprehend the Loſs of their Lives, Liberties, Ho-
" nours, and Eſtates, if they ſhould go about to
" preſerve themſelves from this Oppreſſion, by *Pe-*
" *titions*, and *Repreſentations*; an Inſtance of which

was

" was the Proſecution of the ſeven Biſhops: That 1688.
" a Peer of the Realm (the Lord *Lovelace*) was
" treated as a Criminal, only becauſe he ſaid, *That*
" *the Subjects were not bound to obey the Orders of a*
" *Popiſh Juſtice of Peace*; though it is evident, that
" they being by Law rendered incapable of all ſuch
" Truſts, no Regard is due to their Orders: That both
" he and his Conſort the Princeſs, had endeavoured
" to ſignify with Terms full of Reſpect to the King,
" the juſt and deep Regret, which all theſe Proceed-
" ings had given them, and declared what there
" Thoughts were, touching the Repealing of the
" *Teſt* and *Penal Laws*; but that theſe evil Counſellors
" had put ſuch ill Conſtructions on their good Inten-
" tions, that they had endeavoured to alienate the
" King more and more from them. That the laſt
" great Remedy for all theſe Evils, was the *Calling*
" *of a Parliament*, which could not yet be compaſſed,
" nor could be eaſily brought about; for thoſe Men
" apprehending that a *lawful Parliament* would bring
" them to an Account for all their open Violations
" of Law, and for their Conſpiracies againſt the
" *Proteſtant* Religion, and the Lives and Liberties
" of the Subjects, they had endeavoured under the
" ſpecious Pretence of *Liberty of Conſcience*, firſt to
" ſow Diviſions between thoſe of the Church of *Eng-*
" *land* and *Diſſenters*, with Deſign to engage *Pro-*
" *teſtants*, who are equally concerned to preſerve
" themſelves from *Popiſh* Oppreſſion, into mutual
" Quarrellings; that ſo by theſe Means ſome Advan-
" tage may be given them to bring about their De-
" ſigns; and that both in the Elections of Members
" of Parliament, and afterwards in the Parliament
" itſelf: That they had alſo made *Regulations*, as
" they thought fit and neceſſary, for ſecur-
" ing all the Members that were to be choſen by
" the Corporation; by which means they hoped to
" avoid the Puniſhment they deſerved, though it
" was apparent, that all Acts, made by *Popiſh* Ma-
" giſtrates were null and void of themſelves: So that

1688. " no *Parliament* could be *lawfull*, for which the *E-*
" *lections* and *Returns* were made by *Popiſh* Magiſ-
" trates, Sheriffs, and Mayors of Towns; and there-
" fore as long as the Magiſtracy was in ſuch Hands,
" it was not poſſible to have a *Free Parliament* le-
" gally called and choſen. That there were great
" and violent Preſumptions, inducing his Highneſs
" to believe, that thoſe evil Counſellors, in order to
" the gaining the more Time for the effecting their
" ill Deſigns, had publiſhed, *That the Queen had*
" *brought forth a Son*; though there had appeared,
" both during the Queen's pretended Bigneſs, and
" in the manner wherein the Birth was managed, ſo
" many juſt and viſible Grounds of Suſpicion,
" that not only he himſelf, but all the good Sub-
" jects of the Kingdom, did vehemently ſuſpect, *That*
" *the pretended Prince of* Wales *was not born of the*
" *Queen:* And though many both doubted of the
" Queen's Bigneſs, and the Birth of the Child, yet
" there was not any Thing done to ſatisfy them, or
" put an end to their Doubts. That ſince his Con-
" ſort the Princeſs, and likewiſe he himſelf, had ſo
" great an Intereſt in this Matter, and ſuch a Right,
" as all the World knew, to the Succeſſion of the
" Crown; ſince all the *Engliſh* did in the Year 1672,
" when *Holland* was invaded with a moſt unjuſt War,
" uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to put an End to that
" War, and that in Oppoſition to thoſe who were
" then in the Government; ſince the *Engliſh* Nation
" had ever teſtified a moſt particular Affection and
" Eſteem, both to his Highneſs's deareſt Conſort,
" and to himſelf, he could not excuſe himſelf from
" eſpouſing that Intereſt, in a Matter of ſo high
" Conſequence, and from contributing all that in
" him lay for the maintaining both of the *Pro-*
" *teſtant Religion*, and the Laws and Liberties of theſe
" Kingdoms: To the doing of which, his Highneſs
" *was moſt earneſtly ſollicited by a great many Lords,*
" *both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen,*
" *and other Subjects of all Ranks.*"

In

In the laſt Place his Highneſs declared, " That 1688.
" for the forementioned Reaſons, he has thought fit
" to go over to *England*, and to carry with him a
" Force ſufficient to defend him from the Violence
" of thoſe evil Counſellors: That his Expedition
" was intended for no other Deſign, but to have a
" *Free* and *Lawful Parliament* aſſembled as ſoon as it
" was poſſible; and that in Order to this, all the
" late *Charters*, by which the Election of Burgeſſes
" are limitted, contrary to the antient Cuſtom,
" ſhould be conſidered as Null and of no Force.
" That to this Parliament *he would refer the Enquiry*
" *into the Birth of the pretended Prince of* Wales, *and*
" *of all Things relating thereto, and to the Right of Suc-*
" *ceſſion:* That he would concur in every Thing that
" might procure the Peace and Happineſs of the Na-
" tion, under a juſt and legal Government: That
" he would keep the Forces under his Command,
" under all Strictneſs of Martial Diſcipline, and pro-
" miſed that he would ſend back all thoſe foreign
" Forces as ſoon as the State of the Nation would
" admit of it: That therefore he invited and requi-
" red all Perſons whatſoever to come and aſſiſt him,
" in order to the executing his Deſigns againſt all
" ſuch as ſhall endeavour to oppoſe him. That he
" would likewiſe take Care that a Parliament ſhould
" be called in *Scotland*, for reſtoring the ancient Con-
" ſtitution of that Kingdom, and for bringing the
" Matters of Religion to ſuch a Settlement, that
" the People might live eaſy and happy. That he
" would alſo ſtudy to bring the Kingdom of *Ireland*
" to ſuch a State, that the Settlement there might
" be Religiouſly obſerved, and that the *Proteſtant*
" and *Britiſh* Intereſt there might be ſecured."

This Declaration being printed, and ready to be ſent over into *England* to be diſperſed among the People, the Prince received Information, that the King by the Advice of the Biſhops, had redreſſed divers Abuſes taken notice of in his Declaration, he there-

1688. fore thought it proper to make the following Addition to it.

" After we had prepared and printed our *Declara-*
" *tion*, we have underſtood, that the Subverters of
" the Religion and Laws of theſe Kingdoms, hear-
" ing of our Preparations to aſſiſt the People againſt
" them, have begun to retract ſome of their *Arbi-*
" *trary* and *Deſpotick Power* that they had aſſumed,
" and to vacate ſome of their unjuſt *Judgements* and
" *Decrees:* The Senſe of their Guilt, and the Diſ-
" truſt of their Force, have induced them to offer
" to the City of *London* ſome ſeeming Relief from
" their great Oppreſſions; hoping thereby to quiet
" the People, and to divert them from demanding
" a Re-eſtabliſhment of their *Religion* and *Laws* un-
" der the ſhelter of our Arms: They did alſo give
" out, *That we do intend to conquer and enſlave the Na-*
" *tion*; and therefore it is, we have thought fit to
" add a few Words to our *Declaration.*

" We are Confident, that no Perſons can have ſuch
" hard Thoughts of us, as to imagine we have any
" other Deſign in this our *Undertaking*, than to pro-
" cure a Settlement of the *Religion*, and of the *Li-*
" *berties* and *Properties* of the Subjects, upon ſo ſure
" a Foundation, that there may be no Danger of
" the Nation's Relapſing into the like Miſeries at any
" Time hereafter. And as the Forces we have
" brought along with us are utterly diſproportioned
" to that wicked Deſign of *Conquering the Nation*, if
" we were capable of intending it; ſo the great
" Numbers of the principal Nobility and Gentry,
" that are Men of eminent Quality and Eſtates, and
" Perſons of known Integrity and Zeal, both for the
" Religion and Government of *England*; many of
" them being alſo diſtinguiſhed by their conſtant
" Fidelity to the Crown, who do both accompany
" us in this *Expedition*, and have earneſtly ſollicited
" us to it, will cover us from all ſuch malicious In-
" ſinuations: For it is not to be imagined, that ei-
" ther

" ther thoſe who invited us, or thoſe who are already 1688.
" come to aſſiſt us, can join in a wicked Attempt of
" *Conqueſt*, to make void their own lawful Titles to
" their Honours, Eſtates, and Intereſts. We are
" alſo Confident, that all Men ſee how little Weight
" there is to be laid on all *Promiſes* and *Engagements*
" that can be now made, ſince there has been ſo lit-
" tle Regard had in the Time paſt to the moſt So-
" LEMN PROMISES. And as that *imperfect Re-*
" *dreſs*, that is now offered, is a plain Confeſſion of
" thoſe *Violences* of the Government, that we have
" ſet forth ; ſo the *Defectiveneſs* of it is no leſs ap-
" parent ; for they lay down nothing but what they
" may take up at Pleaſure, and they reſerve entire,
" and not ſo much as mention, their Claims and Pre-
" tences to an *Arbitrary* and *Deſpotick Power*, which
" has been the *Root* of all their Oppreſſions, and the
" total *Subverſion* of the Government. And it is
" plain that there can be no Redreſs, no Remedy of-
" fered but in Parliament, by a *Declaration of the*
" *Rights of the Subjects* that have been invaded, and
" not by any pretended *Acts of Grace*, to which the
" Extremity of their Affairs have driven them.
" Therefore it is that we have thought fit to declare,
" that we will refer all to a free Aſſembly of this
" Nation in a *lawful Parliament*."

The Reſolution of the States-General.

At the ſame Time the *States-General* publiſhed a Declaration, intituled, *The Reſolution of the* States-General, *Containing the Reaſons that had obliged them to aſſiſt his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange *with Ships, Men, and Ammunition, in his intended Expedition into* England. The two principal Reaſons were : 1. That the Prince of *Orange* had been invited to this Expedition from the *Engliſh* Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy ; 2. That the *States* had juſt Reaſon to fear that the King of *England*, after having made himſelf abſolute in his own Kingdom, would in Conjunction with the *French* King endeavour to bring their *State* to Confuſion, and if poſſible totally to ſubject it.

1688. This Fear was founded upon the Earl of *Castlemain*'s preſſing the Pope, and the Patron Cardinal *Cibo* (in the Time of that Earl's Ambaſſy at *Rome*) to admit his Maſter to mediate a Reconciliation between the Courts of *Rome* and *Verſailles*, and his adding that, *When that* Reconciliation *was brought about, the two Kings would effectually ſerve the Cauſe of the Church, and begin with the Deſtruction of* Holland. The Pope, who had no Inclinations to ſuch Projects, informed the Emperour of this Propoſal, who acquainted the Prince of *Orange* with it. This is at leaſt what Dr. *Burnet* ſays in one of his Letters.

The Prince of Orange *takes his Leave of the States.* All Things being in a Readineſs for the intended Expedition, the Prince of *Orange* went into the Aſſembly of the *States-General* the 16th of *October*, to take a ſolemn Leave of them. This was done in a manner ſo tender and moving, that both himſelf and the States melted into Tears.

He ſets ſail. He put to Sea the 19th of *October*, in a Frigate of about Thirty Guns. The whole Fleet conſiſted of about Fifty Men of War, Twenty-five Frigates, as many Fire-Ships, with near four Hundred Victuallers, and other Veſſels, for the Tranſportation of above four Thouſand Horſe, and ten Thouſand Foot. The *Engliſh* of the greateſt Diſtinction and Quality who accompanied the Prince, were the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Macclesfield*, the Lords *Mordaunt*, *Wiltſhire*, *Pawlet*, *Elan*, *Dunblain*, Admiral *Herbert*, Mr. *Herbert*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Ruſſel*, Sir *Rowland Gwin*, Major *Wildman*, Dr. *Burnet*, Mr. *Harbord*, Mr. *Ferguſon*, and others leſs known. The Prince had with him, beſides the General Officers of the *States*, the *French Marſchal Schomberg*, who had laſt ſerved the Elector of *Brandenburg*, Count *Charles* his Son, Monſieur *Caillemote* younger Son to the Marqueſs of *Rouvigni*, and two or three Hundred *French* Officers, who had left their Country for their Religion. Admiral *Herbert* led the Van of the Fleet, Vice-Admiral *Evertzen* brought up the Rear, and the Prince placed himſelf in the main Body, carrying a Flag with *Engliſh* Colours,

lours, and their Highneſs's Arms, ſurrounded with this *Motto*, THE PROTESTANT RELIGION AND LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND; and underneath, the *Motto* of the Houſe of *Naſſau*, JE MAINTIENDRAI, *i. e. I will maintain.* 1688.

His Fleet diſperſed by a Tempeſt.

This numerous Fleet had been but few Hours at Sea, when ſuddenly the Wind turned more weſterly, and with that Violence, that in leſs than two Hours the whole Fleet was ſo diſperſed, that the next Day not two could be ſeen together. The Tempeſt held two whole Days, during which Time the Ships endeavoured to gain, ſome one Port, ſome another. Many were drove Northward, and could not reach the appointed Rendezvous in leſs than eight Days after. Notwithſtanding the Loſs ſuſtained was very inconſiderable, and properly more in the Time than in any Thing elſe. But on this Occaſion the *States* made uſe of an Artifice which did great Prejudice to the King's Affairs. This was their magnifying, in the *Dutch Gazettes*, the Loſs to that Degree, that it was ſaid the Prince could not poſſibly be in a Condition to purſue his Deſign till the next Spring. This was intended to amuſe the Court of *England*, and make them more remiſs in their Preparations. But beſides this Advantage, they drew from this Artifice another ſtill more conſiderable, which was, that the King, who received the News with vaſt Pleaſure, flattered himſelf that he had now nothing more to fear, and that before the Spring he ſhould infallibly be in a Condition to break all the Prince of *Orange*'s Meaſures. In this Belief he revoked ſome of his Acts of Grace granted to his Subjects, and ſo made it clear beyond Contradiction, that theſe Acts were extorted by meer Neceſſity, and that conſequently no Change was to be expected in his Conduct for the future.

The King revokes ſome of his Acts of Grace.

The Prince's Declaration falls into his Hands.

It was in this Critical Juncture that Captain *Langham*, an *Engliſh*-Man in the Service of the *States*, was ſeized on his Arrival in *England*. In his Portmanteau were found a great many Copies of the Prince's Declaration, which were ſent to Court. The King

1688. King having read this Declaration, was aſtoniſhed at that Expreſſion in it, *That the Prince was moſt earneſtly invited over by divers of the Lords both* Spiritual *and* Temporal, *and by many Gentlemen and others.* Immediately he ſent for the Archbiſhop, and four or five other Biſhops then in *London*, and demanded of them, *Whether the Contents of the Prince's Declaration, relating to their inviting him over were true.* The Biſhops contented themſelves with a general Aſſurance of their faithful Allegiance to his Majeſty. But the King, little ſatisfied with this Anſwer, immediately required them to juſtify themſelves to the World, as to their Part in that Invitation. At the ſame Time he fixed a Day, whereon he obliged them to preſent a Paper under their own Hands, ſignifying their Abhorrence of the Prince of *Orange*'s intended Invaſion. He farther let them know, "That a Declaration "was then in the Preſs againſt the Prince of *Orange*, "and was only deferred to have their *Paper of Ab-* "*horrence* put into it."

Who is for obliging the Biſhops to diſown it.

They excuſe themſelves.

On the Day appointed the Biſhops repaired to *Whitehall*, and the Moment after they were in the King's Preſence he called for their *Paper.* But with all Submiſſion, "They begged to be excuſed from "writing any Thing of that Nature, and for making "a particular Defence to a general Accuſation, leſt "they ſhould give the firſt Precedent of that kind "againſt the Privilege of Peers: Beſides, that their "Profeſſion being to promote Peace, they thought it "belonged not to them to declare War, eſpecially "againſt a Prince ſo nearly allied to the Crown." This Anſwer threw the King into the moſt violent Tranſport of Rage. But this did not move them from their Reſolution, and their perſiſting in their Refuſal in Terms as dutiful as was poſſible. The King unable to obtain any Thing of them, ordered them to withdraw, with ſenſible Marks of his Diſpleaſure. They were afterwards informed that one of the Principal Members of the Council and Jeſuited Party,

Party, adviſed the King, *To impriſon them all, and extort the Truth from them by Violence.* 1688.

The King prints the Prince's Declaration, with his own Remarks upon it.

In the mean Time the King willing to keep the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration a Secret from the People, forbad the publiſhing and diſperſing it by Proclamation. But being afterwards informed that a great Number of Copies were handed about the Kingdom, and ſenſible that his Prohibition would be to no Purpoſe, he rather choſe to print the Declaration with Remarks upon it, tending to juſtify his own Conduct, and render odious that of the Prince of *Orange*.

Two Letters addreſſed to the Army and the Fleet.

About the ſame Time was printed a Letter from the Prince of *Orange*, to the Officers of the *Engliſh* Army, and another from Admiral *Herbert* to the *Engliſh* Fleet. The Drift of theſe two Letters was the ſame, namely, to inform the Army and the Fleet of the true Intentions of the Prince, and to repreſent to them, that in making themſelves the King's Inſtruments for the Accompliſhment of his Deſigns, they were only labouring for their own Ruin. Wherefore the Officers, the Soldiers, the Seamen, were conjured not to ſuffer themſelves to be abuſed by a falſe Notion of Honour, to the ſerving of the King, contrary to the manifeſt Intereſt of both their Religion and their Country. Theſe two Letters were attended with wonderful Succeſs upon Officers, Soldiers, and Seamen; ſo that from this Time many of them came to a Reſolution of ſerving the King no more, till Religion and Liberty were ſecured by a free Parliament.

The King's Fleet ill-affected to him.

The King's Fleet conſiſted of Sixty-one Men of War, of which Thirty-eight were of the Line. Several Authors venture to affirm, that this Fleet was more than ſufficient to have worſted that of the *States*. I know not upon what their Aſſertion is grounded: But it ſeems to me that had the Fleets met and engaged, that of the King would have run an equal Riſk. While the King's Fleet lay at Anchor at the *Gunfleet*, the Admiral, the Lord *Dartmouth*, called a Council

1688. Council of War wherein it was debated whether it was better to put to Sea, and there to wait for, and engage the Enemy. An Author who has writ Memoirs upon the *English* Naval Wars, says on this Occasion, "That this Sentiment carried great Weight "with it, had there been a real Design of obstruc- "ting the Prince of *Orange* in his Passage to *Eng-* "*land*. But instead of that, *adds he*, Matters were "so concerted and agreed among the Flag-Officers "and Commanders, that had the Admiral come "fairly up with the *Dutch*, it would not have been "in his Power to have done very much against "them". Wherefore by a great Majority it was resolved to continue There, in Order to intercept the *Dutch* Fleet.

Burchet.

The Prince of Orange *sails out a second time.*

The Damage sustained by the Prince's Fleet in the late Storm was so inconsiderable, and so easily repaired, that in eleven Days he was in Condition to put to Sea again. The first of *November*, in the Afternoon, he went on Board a new Vessel called the *Brill*, and the Fleet at first steering Northward, it was thought the Design was to land some where in the North of *England*, and Dr. *Burnet* assures us, that the first Scheme was to come to an Anchor in the Mouth of the *Humber*. But during the Night, whether the Prince had changed his Intention, or was hindered from pursuing this Course by a violent East Wind, all the Fleet steered towards the Eastern Coasts of *England*; after which they shortened Sail for fear of Accidents in the Night. The next Morning the Fleet sailed towards the Channel, without meeting one *English* Ship, and in its Way made the Coasts of *Essex* and *Kent*. The 3d of *November* the Fleet entred the Channel, and lay by between *Calais* and *Dover*, until the Ships that were behind came up. Here the Prince called a Council of War. It is easy to imagine what a glorious Show the Fleet made. Five or six hundred Ships in so narrow a Channel, and both the *English* and *French* Shores covered with infinite Spectators, are no common Sights. For

my

my Part, who was then on Board the Fleet, I muſt own the Spectacle ſtruck me in an extraordinary Manner. 1688.

The King, upon Advice of the Prince's Deſign to land in the *North*, had ſent one Part of his Army that Way. But it was with extreme Surprize that he received ſeveral Expreſſes with the News that the Enemy's Fleet was ſailing *Weſtward*. He however flattered himſelf that the Lord *Dartmouth* would overtake and give a good Account of them. But, for what Reaſon I know not, the *Engliſh* Fleet lay ſtill and let us paſs by *.

The fourth of *November* being *Sunday*, and the Prince's Birth-day, then entering his thirty ninth Year, was by him given up to Devotion, the Fleet ſtill continuing on, and aiming to land at *Dartmouth* or *Torbay*. But in the Night, whether by the Violence of the Wind, or the Negligence of the Pilot, the Fleet was carried beyond the deſired Ports, without a Poſſibility of putting back, ſuch was the Violence of the Wind. This Diſappointment gave them the melancholy Proſpect of being forced to ſail on to *Falmouth*, or ſome ſuch inconvenient Place. But in a Moment after, the Wind turned to the *South*, which happily carried the Fleet into the *Torbay*, the moſt convenient Place for landing the Horſe of any in *England*. The Landing was made with ſuch Diſpatch and Tranquillity, that the whole Army was on Shore before Night. The next Morning the Wind turning *Weſt*, blew ſo violent that had the Diſimbarcation been deferred a few Hours, in all Probability the Forces could not all have been landed. This Wind prevented the Lord *Dartmouth*, who at laſt had put to Sea in Purſuit of the *Dutch* Fleet, and was come in Sight, from attacking it, and obliged him to put in at *Portſmouth*. Upon this Occaſion theſe

Lands at Torbay.

* The Lord *Dartmouth* was kept in by the Eaſterly Winds. *Burnet*, p. 787.

1688. theſe two famous Verſes of *Claudian* were applied to the Prince of *Orange*.

O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat Æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad Claſſica Venti.
Heaven's Favourite! to whom the Skies Aſſiſtance lend,
Whilſt on thy Sails conſpiring Winds attend.

It was thus that the Prince of *Orange* landed in *England* without any Oppoſition on the 5th of *November*, whilſt the *Engliſh* were celebrating the Memory of their Deliverance from the *Powder-Plot*, about fourſcore Years before. This is one of the moſt memorable *Æra's* in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, and which probably will never be forgot by that Nation.

The Prince marches to Exeter. The Prince's Army left *Torbay* about Noon the next Day, and marched through bad Roads and rainy Weather. The Soldiers before they landed were ordered to bring three Days Bread with them, and were at the Trouble likewiſe of carrying their own Tents. But the Officers, even the moſt conſiderable, were very much mortified on their firſt Encampment, being wet to the Skin, and having neither Clothes for Change, nor Bread, nor Horſes, nor Servants, nor other Bed than the Earth, all drenched with Rain, their Baggage being yet in the Ships. Had this held them two Days more, the Officers, as well principal as ſubaltern, would have been reduced to great Extremities. But the Prince left nothing undone for their Refreſhment. He ordered Horſes, Carriages, and Proviſions from the neighbouring Country, and in this Condition purſued his March to *Exeter*, about twenty Miles from *Torbay*.

The King orders his Army together on Salisbury *Plain.* As ſoon as the King heard that the Prince was landed, his firſt Care was to have his Army drawn together in ſome convenient Place. He choſe *Salisbury* Plain, whither his Army repaired from diſtant Places, with all poſſible Haſte. They who ſaid that he ought to have marched directly to *Torbay* at the Head of his Army, did not conſider that the Thing

was

was impracticable. The greateſt Part of his Army was, as yet, diſperſed in different Quarters. Part had marched to the *North*, and Part to *Portſmouth* to ſecure that Place, which was of ſuch Conſequence. The *Iriſh* Forces were ſtill at *Cheſter*, or in the Country about it, and the *Scotch* at *Carliſle*. The King when he quitted *London*, could not avoid leaving a good Body of Troops, unleſs he would have expoſed that powerful City, where he was not beloved, to the Temptation of declaring for the Enemy, but what is very aſtoniſhing is that the King, though he had two Months Notice of the Prince's intended Invaſion, had neglected to form a Camp of twenty thouſand Men in the Heart of the Kingdom, to have been in a Readineſs to have marched againſt the Enemy on the firſt News of his Landing. This was a Precaution of ſome of his Predeceſſors on the like Occaſion, and might have ſerved as a Precedent to him. His Negligence therefore ſeems inexcuſable, as, after the Prince was landed at *Torbay*, he was obliged to loſe ſo much time in bringing together an Army of more than 30,000 Men. There is great Likelihood that had his Forces been ready, and he marched Weſtward, the Prince would have been greatly embarraſſed, who ſtayed ten Days at *Exeter*, without ſeeing any great Acceſſion made to his Army. Had he ſhewn ſo much Reſolution as *Richard* III, on the like Occaſion, he would doubtleſs have prevented the Deſertion of Numbers, who probably were not then determined to abandon him, and only reſolved to do it, when they ſaw in his Conduct a Conſternation, which boded Ill to them. But this is all Conjecture. 1688.

The King ſhews ſome Reſolution,

However this be, the King having ſent a Reinforcement to *Portſmouth* under the Duke of *Berwick*, idly waſted his Time in endeavouring to perſwade the People that the Prince's Forces were too inconſiderable to give him any Fear. He printed a Liſt of all the Regiments which compoſed the Prince's Army, with the Companies, Troops, Officers and Soldiers

1688. Soldiers belonging to each. But the Prince's Declaration was more relied on than this Liſt. There it was ſaid that he would not have come with ſo ſmall a Number of Troops, had a Conqueſt of *England* been intended; from whence it was inferred that he was beforehand aſſured of Aſſiſtance, which would appear in due Time.

The King ſtudied, as much as he was able, to expreſs a great Confidence from the Superiority of his Forces. And the more to ſhew how little fearful he was, he declared publickly, upon hearing that the Counties of *Kent* and *York*, and the City of *London* were preparing to addreſs him for an Accommodation with the Prince of *Orange*, *That he would look upon all thoſe as his Enemies who ſhould pretend to adviſe him to treat with the Invader of his Kingdoms.* At the ſame Time he put out a Declaration, in which he attempted to inſinuate a ſecret Deſign in the Prince to uſurp the Crown. But to have given ſuch a Declaration any Weight, it muſt have come from a Prince believed Innocent, and unjuſtly attacked. But the People were far from having any ſuch Thoughts. They rather looked on the King as having a Deſign to ſubvert their Religion and Liberty, and on the Prince of *Orange*, as the Nation's Deliverer.

and will hear of no Accommodation.

Mean while the Prince, now at *Exeter*, found not the Encouragement that he expected. The Biſhop, on the firſt News of his Landing, fled to *London*, and in Recompence of his Fidelity was rewarded with the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, which had been kept long vacant, with Intention, as it was thought, to confer it on Father *Peters*, the King's Confeſſor. The Sunday after the Prince came to *Exeter*, Dr. *Burnet* mounting the Pulpit to read his Declaration, all the Canons and part of the Congregation left the Church, not to be preſent at the Reading. On the other Hand, few People came in to offer their Services to the Prince, and the Levy of the three Foot Regiments, for which he had granted Commiſſions, went ſlowly on. This was not owing to any want of Incli-

The Prince of Orange *meets with but ſmall Encouragement at* Exeter.

clination in the People for the Prince, or to their Desires of ill Success to his Undertaking, but to the recent Memory of the Severities against the Partizans of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the consequent Fears of engaging in a like Enterprize, the Success whereof was so uncertain. In general the Prince stayed nine Days at *Exeter*, without being joyned by any Person of Distinction. It is even pretended that in a Council of War held at *Exeter*, he suffered it to be proposed to him to reimbark for *Holland*. But on the tenth Day some of the principal Gentlemen of the Country repaired to him. Amongst these was Sir *Edward Seymour*, by whose Advice an Association was drawn up, and signed by all Persons then with the Prince, or who afterwards came in to him. It was likewise sent to several other Parts of the Kingdom, and signed by great Numbers of Hands. It ran thus: 1688.

Is at last joyned by the Gentlemen of the Country.

The Association.

" WE whose Names are hereunto subscribed, " who have now joined with the Prince of " *Orange*, for the Defence of the *Protestant Religion*, " and for the maintaining the *Ancient Government*, " and the *Laws* and *Liberties of England*, *Scotland*, " and *Ireland*, do engage to Almighty God, to his " Highness the Prince, and to one another, to stick " firm to this Cause, in the Defence of it, and never " to depart from it till our *Religion*, *Laws*, and " *Liberties* are so far secured to us in a Free Parliament, that they shall no more be in Danger of " falling into *Popery* and *Slavery*. And whereas we " are engaged in this Common Cause under the Protection of the Prince of *Orange*, by which Means " his Person is exposed to Danger, and to the cursed " Attempts of *Papists* and other Bloody Men; We " do therefore solemnly engage to God, and to one " another, That if any such Attempt be made upon " him, we will pursue not only those that make it, " but all their Adherents, and all that we find in " Arms against us, with the utmost Severity of a

1688. "Just Revenge, to their utter Ruin and Destruc-
"tion. And that the Execution of any such At-
"tempt (which God of his infinite Mercy forbid)
"shall not divert us from prosecuting this Cause
"which we do now undertake, but that it shall en-
"gage us to carry it on with all the Rigour that
"so Barbarous an Attempt shall deserve".

The Prince marches to Salisbury. From this Time the Affairs of the Prince of *Orange*, who left *Exeter* to march for *Salisbury*, put on a new Face. Every Day brought in to him Persons distinguished by their Birth, Estates, or Employments.

Great Desertions in the King's Army. The Lord *Colchester*, Son to Earl *Rivers*, a Lieutenant in the Life Guards, waited upon the Prince accompanied by Mr. *Wharton*, Colonel *Godfrey*, *John Howe* Esq; four Life-Guard Men, and about threescore Men more on Horseback. These were followed by the Earl of *Abingdon*, Captain *Clarges*, Mr. *Russel*, and others. But what was more material, the Lord *Cornbury*, Son to the Earl of *Clarendon* Colonel of Dragoons, leaving *Salisbury*, under Pretence of an Order from the King, to go and force one of the Enemies advanced Posts, carried with him his own Regiment, and those of Horse of *Berwick*, *St. Albans*, and *Fenwick*, and with the major Part of them went over to the Prince at *Exeter*.

Some Lords arm for the Prince. At the same Time the Lord *Delamere* took Arms and declared openly for the Prince, inviting all his Tenants to follow his Example. The Lord *Lovelace*, having put himself upon his March to *Exeter*, with sixty or seventy Horsemen, passing through *Cirencester* was made Prisoner, by the Militia of the County, after a hot Skirmish, in which ten or twelve Men were killed on both Sides.

Others demand of the King a Parliament. On the other Side the two Archbishops, five Bishops, the Dukes of *Grafton* and *Ormond*, the Earls of *Dorset*, *Clare*, *Clarendon*, *Burlington*, *Angleſey*, *Rochester*, the Lords *Newport*, *Paget*, *Chandois*, *Offulston*, meeting together in *London*, drew up a Petition, which was considered, agreed on, and signed at the Bishop of

of *Rocheſter*'s Houſe at *Weſtminſter*. The Intent of it was to prevail with the King for the calling a free Parliament, and finding ſome Expedient to give Satisfaction to the Prince of *Orange*. This Petition being delivered, and afterwards printed by the petitioning Lords for their own Vindication, had this Anſwer returned to It from the King, which was likewiſe printed, *My Lords, what you ask me, I moſt paſſionately deſire; and I promiſe upon the* Faith of a King, *That I will have a Parliament, and ſuch an One as you ask for, as ſoon as ever the Prince of* Orange *has quitted this Realm: For how is it poſſible a Parliament ſhould be* Free in all its Circumſtances, *as you petition for, while an Enemy is in the Kingdom, and can make a Return of near a hundred Voices?* This Anſwer gave no Satisfaction to the Lords, who eaſily ſaw that the King was for no Parliament of which he could not be Maſter. 1688. *His Anſwer.*

Though the King continued to make a Show of Reſolution, yet the Deſertions in his Army gave him infinite Trouble and Vexation. He was at a Loſs what to do, fearing ſome Conſpiracy amongſt the Officers to deliver him up to the Prince of *Orange*, ſhould he put himſelf at the Head of the Army. This was the Reaſon of his countermanding the March of his Forces, Artillery, and his own Equipage. But in a Council held on this Occaſion, it was judged neceſſary for him to be as ſoon as poſſible with his Army, in order to prevent all farther Deſertions. He therefore ſet forward the 17th of *November*, after having recommended the Care of the City to the Lord-Mayor, and in a Speech to the Officers about him, renewed his Promiſe of calling a Parliament as ſoon as the Prince of *Orange* had quitted the Kingdom. *He told Them that if they deſired any more he was ready to grant it; but that if, after all, any of them was deſirous to go over to the Prince of* Orange, *he was willing to grant Them Paſſes, and ſpare Them the Shame of deſerting their Lawful Sovereign.* But in this Juncture, wherein he ſeemed diſpoſed to give a general Satiſ- *He is afraid of being delivered up to the Prince of* Orange. *Prepares to meet the Prince.*

1688. faction, he left behind him a Council composed of five Lords, all of them the most unpopular that could be, except the Lord *Godolphin*. The other four were the Chancellor *Jeffreys*, the Lords *Powis* and *Bellasis*, both notorious *Papists*; and the Lord *Preston* vehemently suspected as such. It is said that the King had a Design to leave his Confessor *Peters* one in that Trust: But the good Father wisely consulted his Safety by a timely Escape into *France*.

Arrives at Salisbury,

The King arrived the 19th of *November* at *Salisbury*, where the Officers of his Army, devoted to him, payed him their Complements, and expressed an Abhorrence of Lord *Cornbury*'s Defection. On his Arrival he was seized with a violent Bleeding at the Nose, which increased the Day after, as he was going to view Part of his Army, quartered at eight Miles Distance. On the same, or following Day, most of the Chief Officers applied themselves to the Earl of *Feversham* their General, desiring him to assure the King, "That upon any Occasion they should be glad to spill "the last Drop of their Blood in his Service; but "that they could not in Conscience fight against a "Prince, who was come over with no other Design "than to procure the Calling of a *free Parliament*, "for the Security of their *Religion* and *Liberties*." This Declaration at once struck the King, and let him see that his Army, which had been always his Principal Refuge, was not to be relied on. The Earl of *Feversham*, very distrustful of the Lord *Churchill* (afterwards Duke of *Marlborough*) one of the King's Favourites, Lieutenant General, Captain of a Troop of his Life-Guards, and Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, was very earnest with the King to have him secured. But the King, whether he had no such Suspicion, or was afraid of a Mutiny should he listen to this Advice, rejected it. Nevertheless the Day after the Lord *Churchill* went over to the Prince of *Orange*, accompanied by the Duke of *Grafton*, Colonel *Berkley*, four or five Captains of his own Regiment, and some other Officers. Father *Orleans* insinuates

is taken with a Bleeding at the Nose.

A Declaration of the Chief Officers.

The Lord Churchill *leaves the King.*

here, that he had a Design to deliver up the King to the Prince of *Orange*, but was prevented by his Majesty's Bleeding at the Nose, which had hindered his going so far as the Quarter he intended to view. But this Accusation is groundless, and entirely destroyed by the dutiful Letter written by that Lord to the King at his going off, and which I thought proper to insert here. 1688.

" *SIR*,

" SINCE Men are seldom suspected of *Sincerity*, " when they act contrary to their *Interests*; and " though my dutiful Behaviour to your Majesty " in the worst of Times, (for which I acknowledge " my poor Services over paid) may not be sufficient " to incline you to a charitable Interpretation of " my Actions; yet I hope the great Advantage I " enjoy under your Majesty, which I can never ex- " pect in any other Change of Government, may " reasonably convince your Majesty and the World, " that I am acted by a *higher Principle*, when I of- " fered that Violence to my *Inclination* and *Interest*, " as to desert your Majesty at a Time when your " Affairs seem to challenge the strictest Obedience " from all your Subjects; much more from one who " lies under the greatest personal Obligations imagi- " nable to your Majesty. This, *Sir*, could proceed " from nothing but the inviolable Dictates of my " *Conscience*, and a necessary Concern for my *Reli-* " *gion*, which no good Man can oppose, and with " which I am instructed *Nothing ought to come in* " *Competition*. Heaven knows with what Partiality " my dutiful Opinion of your Majesty, hath hither- " to represented those unhappy Designs, which in- " considerate and self-interested Men have framed " against your Majesty's *true Interest*, and the *Pro-* " *testant Religion*. But as I can no longer join with " such, to give a Pretence by *Conquest*, to bring " them to effect; so I will always, with the Hazard *His Letter to the King.*

1688. " of my Life and Fortune (so much your Majesty's " Due) endeavour to preserve your *Royal Person* " and *lawful Rights*, with all the tender Concern " and dutiful Respect that becomes,

Yours, &c."

This Letter makes it clear that nothing was farther from this Lord's Thoughts than so base a Treachery.

The King returns to London. The Defection of the Lord *Churchill* was a stunning Blow to the King, who from this time saw not on whom he could rely. Wherefore daring no longer to hazard his Person with his Army, he left *Salisbury*, and returned to *London* with a Precipitation which had all the Appearance of a Flight. Before his Departure he puts out a Proclamation, " Pro- *Offers a Pardon.* " mising a free and absolute Pardon to all his Sub- " jects, who had taken up Arms and joined with " the Prince of *Orange*, provided they quitted and " deserted him within the Space of twenty Days". But this Proclamation had no success. At his Return he had still a more terrible Mortification, in *Prince* George *leaves him.* the Defection of the Prince of *Denmark* his Son-in-law, who leaving him at *Andover*, went off to the Prince of *Orange* in Company of the Duke of *Ormond*, Sir *George Hewet*, and others. That Prince wrote a very dutiful Letter to the King in Vindication of his Conduct, wherein he grounds his Defection principally on his Concern for the *Protestant* Religion, which the King had openly attempted to destroy, not only in *England* but all *Europe*, by his strict Conjunction with *France*.

The Prince comes to Sherburn. In the mean time the Prince of *Orange* having left *Exeter*, was advanced as far as *Sherburn*, from whence he intended to continue his March towards *Salisbury* or *Bristol*, according to the Resolutions taken by the King. The King had an Army so much superiour to that of the Prince in Number, that had he marched on, and fallen upon the Prince, he must have very much

much diſtreſſed him. In all likelihood the Prince had no Intention of coming to an Engagement, but on the King's advancing forward, would probably have retired to *Briſtol*, in Expectation of a more general-Defection in the King's Army. Such a Defection was no unreaſonable Expectation, according to all Advices from thoſe who came to join him. It is therefore by no means probable that he would have put an Advantage, of which he was almoſt aſſured, to the Hazard of an uncertain Battle. I my ſelf remember a Report then current in the Prince's Army, that ſome Perſon acquainting the *Marſhal de Schomberg* with the King's Coming to give us Battle, the *Marſhal* coldly anſwered, *If we think it proper*. But upon the Information that the King was returned to *London*, and his Army retired to *Reading*, the Prince readily marched to *Salisbury*, and made a triumphant Entry into that City, amidſt the Acclamations of the People. During his March there was a ſmall Skirmiſh between two Parties of the oppoſite Armies, in which that of the Prince, though inferiour in Number, defended themſelves with ſo much Bravery, that the Enemy had no reaſon to boaſt of the Advantage, the Loſs having been pretty near equal on both Sides. 1688. *and to Salisbury.*

The Defection of his principal Officers was not the only Cauſe of the King's mortal Fears. Not a Day almoſt paſſed which did not bring him ſome diſagreeable News from different Parts of the Kingdom. The Earl of *Bath* had made himſelf Maſter of *Plimouth*, where the *Dutch* Fleet lay ſecure. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* and Sir *John Guiſe* had, with the Aſſiſtance of the Inhabitants, forced the Duke of *Beaufort* to ſurrender to them the important City of *Briſtol*. The Earl of *Devonſhire* at the Head of a great Number of Gentlemen in the County of *Derby*, had declared for a *Free-Parliament*, agreeably to the Prince's Declaration. The Earl of *Danby* had made himſelf Maſter of *York*, and having diſarmed and turned out all the Papiſts, who, under the Protection *The King mortified with a Succeſſion of ill News.*

1688. of the Duke of *Newcastle* stood up for the King, declared for a *Free Parliament*. The Town of *Berwick* immediately followed the Example of *York*, as likewise did the Gentry of the County of *Nottingham*. Colonel *Copely*, Deputy-Governour of *Hull*, surprized that Town, and made the Lord *Langley*, the Popish Governour, a Prisoner. The Duke of *Somerset* and the Earl of *Oxford* went to offer their Services to the Prince of *Orange*. The Duke of *Ormond* entred *Oxford* without Resistance, and caused the Prince's Declaration to be read there. And it was told the King, that Five Commissioners from *Scotland*, with the Duke of *Queensbury* and the Lord of *Belcarras* amongst them, were coming to *London* to demand a *Free Parliament* in that Kingdom. But the Affliction which touched the King most sensibly was, the seeing himself forsaken by his own Daughter the Princess of *Denmark*, who had privately withdrawn from *Whitehall*, accompanied by the Bishop of *London* mounted and armed, and retired to *Nottingham*, from whence she went to join the Prince her Spouse at *Oxford*. Some Days before a Rumour had been spread amongst the People, that the Queen had treated her ill, and proceeded so far as to strike her. This incensed them to that Degree, that upon her not appearing at *Whitehall* and a Belief grounded upon it that she was murdered, they offered to revenge her Death upon all the *Romish* Party in *London*. But on the News of her being in Safety they were appeased. At her going off she writ the following Letter to the Queen.

The Princess of Denmark *retires.*

The Princess of Denmark's *Letter to the Queen.*

" *MADAM*,

" I BEG your Pardon, if I am so deeply afflicted with the surprizing News of the Prince's " being gone, as not to be able to see you, but to " leave this Paper to express my humble Duty to " the King and your self; and to let you know " that I am gone to absent my self, to avoid the

" King's

" King's Diſpleaſure, which I am not able to bear, 1688.
" either againſt the Prince or my ſelf; and I ſhall
" ſtay at ſo great a Diſtance, as not to return be-
" fore I hear the happy News of a Reconcilement.
" And as I am confident the Prince did not leave
" the King with any other Deſign, than to uſe all
" poſſible Means for his Preſervation; ſo I hope
" you will do me the Juſtice to believe, that I am
" not capable of following him for any other End.
" Never was any one in ſuch an unhappy Condition,
" ſo divided between Duty and Affection to a Fa-
" ther and a Husband; therefore I know not what
" to do, but to follow one to preſerve the other. I
" ſee the general Falling-off of the Nobility and
" Gentry, who avow to have no other End, than
" to prevail with the King to ſecure their Religion,
" which they ſaw ſo much in Danger by the violent
" Counſels of the *Prieſts*; who, to promote their
" own Religion, did not care to what Danger they
" expoſed the King. I am fully perſuaded the
" Prince of *Orange* deſigns the King's Safety and
" Preſervation, and hope all things may be compoſed
" without more Bloodſhed, by calling of a Parlia-
" ment. God grant a happy End to all theſe Trou-
" bles, that the King's Reign may be proſperous,
" and that I may ſhortly meet you in Peace and
" Safety: Till then, let me beg you to continue
" the ſame favourable Opinion that you hitherto
" had of,

" *Yours*, &c."

King James abuſed by his Counſellors.

From what has been ſaid it appears that the Defection was almoſt univerſal, and not confined to the Court and the Army, but ſpread through the whole Kingdom. It is inconceivable that the King had not foreſeen this, or could have ſo ill an Opinion of the *Engliſh* as to think that they would quietly look on, and ſee their *Laws* and *Religion* wreſted from them: That he could imagine the giving a Man a Com-

1688. Commiſſion in his Army, and obliging him to take the Oath of Allegiance, diſengaged him from the Ties put upon him by his Country, his Religion, or at leaſt blotted them out of his Memory. But to ſolve this, we are to remember what the Princeſs of *Denmark* inſinuated to the Queen, that the King's Counſellors cared not to what Danger they expoſed him. He was of no farther Regard to them, than as he might be ſerviceable to their Deſigns, by promoting the Popiſh Religion, in virtue of the abſolute Power with which they were for inveſting him, and unhappily for himſelf he fell into the Snare.

The different Character of Charles II and James II.

Here let us reflect on the Difference between *Charles* II and *James* II. The firſt was always ſenſible that the zealous Sticklers for his abſolute Power intended his Grandour no farther than as it might prove ſerviceable to the Execution of their own Deſigns. Therefore when that Prince ſaw he had gone too far, he retreated in the beſt Manner he could, and left his Counſellors, his Miniſters, and even his own Brother in the Danger. This was his frequent Practice, and he left to the Duke his Brother the Difficulty and Peril of a contrary Method. But *James* II, in ſteering a contrary Courſe to that of *Charles*, gave himſelf up entirely to Counſellors, who purſued their own Deſigns, without troubling themſelves about the Danger he was expoſed to by their violent Counſels.

The King in great Difficulties.

Be this as it will, the King, at the Time I am ſpeaking of, was plunged in Difficulties, out of which he ſaw no way to Eſcape. The Queen was diſmayed, and her Conſternation inexpreſſible. Father *Peters* was fled into *France* in the Retinue of the Lord *Walgrave*, ſent thither in the Room of *Skelton*. The violent Counſels of *Jefferys* were now out of date. The *Popiſh* Counſellors ſeeing all their Meaſures broken, took care to ſhelter themſelves from the impending Storm, whatever became of the King. In ſhort, Mr. *Barillon* the *French* Ambaſſador, and *Monſieur de Lauſun* then in *London*, idly waſted the Time

Time in Reproaches on the King for his Refuſal of the Aſſiſtance offered by *France*, without directing him to any Way to repair this Neglect. In this extreme Diſtreſs (more eaſy to be imagined than deſcribed) his ſole Refuge lay in an Application to the *Proteſtant* Peers, whoſe Counſels he had before rejected, whom he had deprived of their Employments, and in a word treated as declared Enemies. He therefore called as many of the Peers, both Spiritual and Temporal, together, as were in *London*. The Number indeed was but ſmall, ſo many being diſperſed into different Parts of the Kingdom to ſerve the Prince of *Orange*, or in Attendance upon his Perſon. When he had them before him he prayed their Advice concerning his preſent Exigencies and Emergencies. On this Occaſion he had the Mortification to hear a long Examination of all his unwarrantable Proceedings ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne, and particularly his violent Meaſures to deſtroy the *Proteſtant* Religion, and ſubvert the Liberties of *England*. Theſe, it was ſaid, had occaſioned the dangerous Symptoms that now appeared in the Body Politick, and for which there was no other Remedy left than a *Free Parliament*. The Neceſſity therefore was repreſented to his Majeſty: 1. Of granting a general Pardon to all thoſe who either came over with the Prince of *Orange*, or had joined him ſince his Landing. 2. Of deputing ſome Lords to his Highneſs to treat with him about a Suſpenſion of Arms, and to endeavour to bring Matters to an Accommodation. And laſtly, Of turning all *Papiſts* immediately out of their Employments, to convince the World that his Majeſty acted a ſincere Part.

1688.

Conſults the Proteſtant Peers.

Their Advice.

The King took that Night to conſider of the Advice, and the next Day declared in Council, that he was reſolved to call a free Parliament, that ſhould meet on the 15th of *January* next enſuing: And accordingly the Chancellor was ordered to iſſue out the *Writs*. Then he publiſhed a Proclamation in which he declared, That all his Subjects ſhould have free Liberty

The King declares he will call a free Parliament.

A Proclamation for that purpoſe.

1688. Liberty to elect, and all the Peers, and such as should be elected Members of the House of *Commons*, should have full Liberty and Freedom to serve and sit in Parliament, notwithstanding they had taken up Arms, or committed any Act of Hostility, or been any way aiding or assisting therein. He likewise declared in Council his Intention of sending Commissioners to treat with the Prince of *Orange*: but as to that Part of the Advice relating to the *Roman-Catholicks*, his Majesty only said, *He would leave that Matter to be debated in Parliament.* However, Sir *Edward Hales* a *Papist* and Lieutenant of the *Tower*, having rendred himself obnoxious to the City of *London*, by threatning to bombard it, was displaced, and Colonel *Skelton* put in his Room.

Commissioners sent to treat with the Prince of Orange.

The Commissioners nominated by the King to treat with the Prince of *Orange*, were the Marquess of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin*. They left *London* the 2d of *December*, and on their way met with Passes from the Prince.

A false Declaration published in the Name of the Prince of Orange.

At the same time appeared a printed Paper at *London* and other Places, called, *The Third Declaration of the Prince of* Orange, and dated the 28th of *November*. It was the Work of a private and still unknown Hand, who had the Boldness to put the Prince's Name to it, and to disperse it through the Kingdom. Amongst other Things he made the Prince say, "That as he would offer no Violence to any "but in his own necessary Defence, so he would not "suffer any Injury to be done to the Person, even "of any *Papist*, provided he was found in such "Place, and Condition, and Circumstance, as the "Law required. But he declared that all *Papists*, "who should be found in open Arms, or in any "Office Civil or Military, contrary to the known "Laws of the Land, should be treated by him "and his Forces, not as *Gentlemen* and *Soldiers*, but "as *Robbers*, *Free-booters*, and *Banditti's*; so should "all Persons found any ways aiding or assisting "to them: That whereas he was certainly in-

"formed,

" formed, That great Numbers of armed *Papiſts* 1688.
" had of late reſorted to *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and
" Parts adjacent, not ſo much, he had reaſon to
" ſuſpect, for their own Security, as out of a wick-
" ed Deſign to make ſome deſperate Attempt upon
" the ſaid Cities and their Inhabitants, he therefore
" required all Magiſtrates and Officers, Civil and
" Military, to diſarm and ſecure them, that all
" Power of doing Miſchief might be taken from
" them: That thoſe Magiſtrates or others who ſhould
" refuſe to aſſiſt him to execute vigorouſly what he
" required of them, ſhould be eſteemed the moſt
" criminal and infamous of all Men; *Betrayers of*
" *their Religion, Laws and Country*, of whom he
" would require the Life of every ſingle *Proteſtant*
" that ſhould periſh, and every Houſe that ſhould
" be burnt or deſtroyed; by their Treachery and
" Cowardice".

This Declaration, publiſhed in the Name of the Prince, though diſowned by him, finiſhed the Confuſion of the Papiſts; and the more ſo, becauſe ſeveral Juſtices of the Peace cauſed it to be publiſhed, not imagining that any private Man would have had the Boldneſs to undertake ſuch a Thing. From this time the *Popiſh* Party ſaw themſelves reduced ſo low, that they durſt not look up any more. *An Hue and Cry after Father* Petre, was publickly cryed and ſold in the Streets, notwithſtanding he was a Privy-Counſellor. A legal Accuſation againſt the Earl of *Salisbury*, " For infringing the moſt ſacred Laws of
" the Kingdom by turning *Papiſt*" was preferred to the Grand-Jury of *Middleſex*, who found the *Bill*.

The 6th of *December* the three Commiſſioners by an Expreſs acquainted the King, " That they were
" to meet the Prince of *Orange* that Night at *Ameſ-*
" *bury*". But the next Day they informed his Majeſty, " That his Highneſs had made a new Ap-
" pointment to meet them at *Hungerford*, and had
" ſent to them the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Oxford*,

The Popiſh Party ſinks entirely.

" to

1688. "to desire them to make their Proposals in Writ-"ing". This Message surprized the King, principally because the Prince had deputed the Earl of *Oxford*, who had never been concerned in any publick Affair, and the Earl of *Clarendon* was the professed Enemy of the Marques of *Hallifax*. He inferred from this the Prince's Unwillingness to come to any Accommodation. This gave Mess. *Barillon* and *Lausun* occasion to press the King very warmly to secure himself, the Queen, and the Prince of *Wales*, by a timely Recess out of the Nation. But he was willing still to wait for the Success of his Negotiation with the Prince of *Orange*.

The King's Propositions to the Prince.

The Substance of the Propositions delivered by the King's Commissioners to the Prince was, "That "the King observing that all the Causes of Com-"plaint, alledged by his Highness, seemed to be re-"ferred to a *Free Parliament*, he had issued out his "*Writs* for calling one*: That he had sent Com-"missioners to his Highness for adjusting all Mat-"ters relating to the Freedom of Elections, and "Security of the Parliament; and in order to "that proposed that the respective Armies might be "kept at such a Distance from *London*."

The Prince, who was then on his March towards *London*, returned no Answer to this Proposal: but the next Day, with the Advice of the Lords and Gentlemen assembled with him, he put the following Propositions into the Hands of the King's Commissioners.

The Princes Proposals.

"I. That all *Papists* and all such Persons as are not "qualified by Law, be disarmed, disbanded, and "removed from all Employments, civil and mili-"tary.

"II. That

* He had indeed called a Parliament, but the *Writs* were not yet sent down.

1688.

" II. That all Proclamations which reflect upon Us " be recalled; and that if any Perſons, for having " aſſiſted Us, have been committed, that they be " forthwith ſet at Liberty.

" III. That for the Security and Safety of the " City of *London*, the Cuſtody and Government of " the *Tower* be immediately put into the Hands of " the City.

" IV. That if his Majeſty ſhall think fit to be in " *London*, during the ſitting of the *Parliament*, that " We may be there alſo, with equal Number of " Guards: Or if his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to be in " any Place from *London*, whatever Diſtance he " thinks fit, that We may be at a Place of the ſame " Diſtance; and that the reſpective Armies be from " *London* thirty Miles; and that no further Forces " be brought into the Kingdom.

" V. That for the Security of the City of *London* " and their Trade, *Tillbury* Fort be put into the " Hands of the ſaid City.

" VI. That a ſufficient Part of the publick Re- " venue be aſſigned to Us, for the Support and " Maintenance of our Troops, until the ſitting of a " Free Parliament.

" VII. That to prevent the Landing of the *French* " or other foreign Troops, *Portſmouth* may be put " into ſuch Hands, as by his Majeſty and Us ſhall " be agreed on."

Their Moderation owned by the King.

Theſe Propoſals were ſo reaſonable, that the King himſelf could not help owning, *They were better than he expected.* Indeed the Prince of *Orange* kept firm to his Declaration, in which he only demanded entire *Freedom* for the Parliament, and a ſufficient Security for the City of *London*, without ſtipulating any other Advantage for himſelf than the Maintenance of his Army, till the ſitting of the Parliament, that is, for about ſix Weeks. As the King could no longer hope to execute his firſt Deſign, it ſeems that nothing could have fallen out more Advan-

1688. tagious for him than to come off on the eaſy Condition of reſtoring the Government upon the Foot of its antient Conſtitution, and this at a time when he ſaw himſelf abandoned by all the World without any viſible Means of extricating himſelf out of his preſent Difficulties any other way. Had he diſcovered a Willingneſs to embrace theſe Propoſals, probably the Parliament would have asked no more of him than the Eſtabliſhment of their Religion and Laws, ſo as not to be eaſily ſhaken in time to come, and he might have kept his Crown, though perhaps with ſome Diminution of the Rights which Himſelf, his Brother, Father and Grandfather had pretended to. It cannot be affirmed that this was any hard Condition, conſidering how he had governed, and the preſent Situation of his Affairs. He even ſeemed at firſt to have an Intention of embracing theſe Propoſals, and of referring to the next Parliament the Deciſion of all Differences, ſince that very Day he called an extraordinary Council of all the Lords that were in Town. As it was plain that he would be adviſed to accept theſe Propoſals by all the Lords, it could hardly be doubted but that he had ſuch an Intention, and only called this Council for Form ſake. It is not known what paſſed in it, but only that it was ordered to meet the next Morning, to give farther Advice upon the Exigency of Affairs. Before the Council broke up, the King, under ſome Diſtraction of Mind, addreſſing himſelf to the Duke of *Bedford*, ſaid, *My Lord, you are a good Man, and have a great Influence: You can do much for me at this time.* To which the Duke replyed, *I am an old Man, and can do but little*; then added with a deep Sigh, *I had once a Son, that could now have been very ſerviceable to your Majeſty.* This was meant of the Lord *Ruſſel*, who had been beheaded in the late Reign, and fallen a Sacrifice to the Vengeance of the King, then Duke of *York*. The King was like one Thunder-ſtruck at this Anſwer, inſomuch that he could make no Reply.

Who calls an extraordinary Council.

Which is ordered to meet the next Day.

Every

Every Thing ſeemed to promiſe an Accommodation, and no Body doubted but the next Day ſome Reſolution would be taken for the Peace and Security of the Kingdom. But the very ſame Night the King, as is preſumed, conſulted with ſome of his *Popiſh* Counſellors, whoſe intereſted Advice overthrew all theſe flattering Expectations. Theſe Counſellors were eaſily apprehenſive of what they had to expect from a *Free Parliament*. It was manifeſt that no other Expedient was left to draw the King out of his Difficulties, than the delivering up the *Popiſh Religion* to the Reſentments of the *Proteſtants*, and the paſſing of *Acts* to hinder its being ever eſtabliſhed in *England*. It was therefore thought better for their Religion by theſe Men, that the King ſhould keep up his Pretenſions, unable as he was to ſupport them, than make a Sacrifice of them to the Parliament. To that End they adviſed him to withdraw into *France*. They repreſented how diſhonourable it would be for him to retract what he had done, how prejudicial to the Catholick Religion for him to be forced to give his Aſſent to ſuch *Acts* of Parliament as would tend only to render its Eſtabliſhment impracticable. That after that, the Catholicks would have no Refuge; whereas by keeping up the Claim of his Rights, he might hope to be reſtored by the Arms of *France*, and finiſh the Work which he had ſo gloriouſly begun. In a Word, this Advice might have opened the King's Eyes, if any Thing could, and let him ſee, that not his Perſon, but their Religion was the ſole Object of their Concern. In fine, to give more Weight to their Reaſons, they inſtilled into the Queen ſuch Fears and Apprehenſions as made her uſe all her Influence with the King, to engage him to do as he was adviſed. They laid before her the Hardſhips which the King and herſelf had to expect from the Parliament: That both of them being ſuſpected, and even openly accuſed in the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration, of having impoſed an Heir upon the Crown, nothing could be more clear than that

1688. *The King ſuffers himſelf to be gained by his Popiſh Counſellors,*

who are aſſiſted by the Queen.

1688. the Parliament, in Complement to the Princeſs of *Orange*, would declare againſt the Legitimacy of the Prince of *Wales*: That it might even happen to herſelf to be accuſed as an Accomplice in the Fact, ſince no Difficulty had been made of impeaching the Queen, her Mother-in-law, upon Occaſions much leſs Important: That in a Word, a ſhort Exile with a powerful and generous Prince who was able to reſtore them, was infinitely preferable to living in their own Kingdoms, with only the Shadow of Sovereignty, diſhonourably, indigently, and in Dependance upon thoſe whom they ought to command.

She reſolves to go into France, Theſe Conſiderations ſupported, as it is pretended, by Meſſieurs *Barillon* and *Lauſun*, had ſuch Effect upon the Mind of the Queen, that ſhe reſolved to withdraw into *France* with the Prince of *Wales*, after a poſitive Aſſurance obtained from the King, that he would follow her with all convenient Speed.

and accordingly goes. Purſuant to this Reſolution, in the Night between the 9th and 10th of *December*, the Queen in Diſguiſe croſſed the *Thames* over to *Lambeth* in an open Boat, expoſed to Wind and Rain. At *Lambeth*, under the Walls of a Church, ſhe waited till a Coach could be got ready in the next Inn to take her up. She went from thence to *Graveſend*, where ſhe put herſelf and the Prince of *Wales* on Board a ſmall Veſſel, which conveyed them ſafely to *Calais*.

From thence ſhe went to *Verſailles*, where ſhe was received by the King of *France* with great Marks of Affection, and ſo was not without Comfort in this melancholy Situation of her Affairs.

The King follows her The King being fully determined to follow the Queen, waited but one Day to put his Deſign in Execution. The Night between the 10th and 11th of *December*, in a plain Suit, and a Bob-Wigg, he took Water at *Whitehall*, accompanied only by Sir *Edward Hales*, Mr. *Sheldon*, and *Abbadie*, a *French* Man Page of the Back-Stairs, without acquainting any other Perſon with his Deſign. If the Manner in which this Monarch intended to leave his Dominions is impar-

A Remark upon his Conduct.

tially

tially conſidered, it cannot be called by any ſofter Name, than an entire Renouncing of them, and Putting his Subjects into the State in which Nature dictates to Men a Care of their own Security. First, he fled without being purſued, and without any reaſonable Apprehenſion of Danger, either to his Life or Liberty. So that it is manifeſt his Conſcience ſuggeſted Fears of Dangers to him, which were never intended. Secondly, he fled without any Proviſion made for the Government of the Kingdom. This Conduct furniſhed his Subjects afterwards with the Inference, that he had abandoned them to a perfect Anarchy, and thereby authorized them to chuſe ſuch a Form of Government as ſhould ſeem moſt convenient, or to elect another King. Thirdly, by his Flight he violated the Promiſe ſo ſolemnly made in his Proclamation of calling a Parliament. Fourthly, before he went off, he writ to the Earl of *Feverſham* to disband his Forces, without any Care taken of their Pay, apparently, with a Deſign of cauſing Diſturbances in the Kingdom, by the Diſguſt of the Officers and Soldiers thus diſcharged. Fifthly, he ordered all the *Writs* to be burnt, that were to be iſſued out for the electing of the Parliament, imagining, doubtleſs, that it would not be poſſible to aſſemble a Parliament, which by the Laws could only be called by the King. Sixthly, when he took Water he threw the *Great-Seal* into the *Thames*, that nothing might be legally done in his Abſence. If this may not be called a *Deſertion* of his Kingdom, it will be difficult to find a proper Name for ſuch Proceedings. 1688.

The Lords in the Town meet at Guild-hall.

As ſoon as the King's Flight was known a general Conſternation enſued, no Man knowing how to behave on ſo extraordinary an Occurrence. However, about thirty Spiritual and Temporal Lords repaired to *Guild-Hall*, and ſent for the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen. After a ſhort Conſultation they came to a Reſolution of adhering to the Prince of *Orange*, and of ſending Deputies to him with this Reſolution ſigned by the whole Aſſembly. They next ſent for

1688. Colonel *Skelton* Lieutenant of the Tower, of whom they demanded the Keys, which he willingly resigning, they were given to the Lord *Lucas*. Shortly after the Common-Council of the City sent Deputies to the Prince, with an Address, imploring his Protection, and praying him to honour the City with his Presence.

The Prince sent to by them, and the Common-Council.

But though, upon the first Assurance of the King's Flight, the *Militia* of *London* and *Westminster* were up in Arms, they could not prevent the Mob from assembling and committing some Disorders. The Rabble confined their Rage chiefly to the *Mass-Houses* erected by the King in the City and Suburbs, which they demolished entirely, and made Bonfires of the Materials. And as the Houses of Ambassadors were not without Chappels, those belonging to the Ambassadors of *Spain* and *Florence* were pillaged before any Stop could be put to the Disorder. Into the first of these Chappels the Chief *Papists* of the Court had conveyed all their valuable Effects, and to this probably was owing its Ruin. The Houses of other Ambassadors were preserved by the great Care of some Lords. And afterwards the two Ministers of *Spain* and *Florence* received ample Satisfaction for the Damages sustained by them on this Occasion.

An Insurrection of the Mob.

During these Commotions of the Rabble, the Lord Chancellour *Jefferies*, disguised in a Seaman's Habit, attempting an Escape in a Vessel freighted for *Hamburgh*, was discovered as he was looking through the Window of the House where he lay hid. He was immediately dragged out by the Mob, and after all possible Insults put upon him, carryed before the Lord-Mayor, who declined meddling with him. But the Chancellor seeing himself in the Hands of an enraged Mob, which threatened to tear him in Pieces, demanded that he might be sent to the Tower, which at last was granted him, not as a Favour, but in hopes of seeing him shortly conducted from thence to the Gallows. It is pretended that he offered to discover a great many Secrets, and in Expectation of that,

Chancellor Jeffreys seized and ill used by the Rabble.

Sent to the Tower,

that, was kept ſome Time in Priſon, till the Affairs of the Government were ſettled. But he died in that Interval by the Blows which he had received, according to ſome; by drinking ſpirituous Liquors, according to others; and as ſome pretend, by the Stone. Never Man had better deſerved a publick Puniſhment as an Atonement for all the Miſchiefs done to his Country, and for all the Blood ſpilt by his means. 1688. *where he dies.*

In the mean Time the Earl of *Feverſham*, after having communicated the King's Letter to the principal Officers, diſmiſſed the Army, and gave notice of it by a Trumpet to the Prince of *Orange*, who returned no Anſwer. This made it thought that the Prince was diſpleaſed with his Conduct. And indeed it ſeems that in ſuch a Conjuncture, if he was unwilling to pay ſo much Deference to the Prince as to communicate to him the Order before it was executed, he could not however with any Decency overlook the Lords aſſembled at *London*, who in the preſent State of the Kingdom had a Right to interpoſe in the Management of the Government. Wherefore his Conduct was greatly blamed; and his Fault was the more taken Notice of, as it occaſioned an Alarm which threw the City and Country into the utmoſt Conſternation. Some *Iriſh* Soldiers of the disbanded Troops, finding themſelves moneyleſs, and incapable of Subſiſting in a Country where they were ſo generally hated, took it into their Heads to force open a Country Houſe to keep themſelves from ſtarving. Upon this, a Man in the Neighbourhood ran directly to *London*, crying, as he paſſed, "That the *Iriſh* were up, and "marching to *London*, firing of Houſes, and putting "Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword." The News immediately flew through the City, and gave the Inhabitants a Terrour which is not to be expreſſed. This Terrour increaſed as the News ſpread, by an Addition of Circumſtances and Particulars which ſerved to heighten it. The City was in an Alarm all Night, expecting every Moment the Arrival of the *Iriſh*. Some prepared for Flight, others ran to Arms,

The Earl of Feverſham diſbands his Army.

A panic Terrour ſeizes London, and from thence is ſcattered through the whole Kingdom.

1688. not a Window in *London* and *Westminster* but what was illuminated, that the Streets might not want sufficient Light to discover the Enemy. From *London* the Consternation diffused it self through the whole Kingdom in such manner, that in the remote Parts, where more Time was allowed to view the Danger, and to guard against it, a general Resolution was taken, should the News prove true, of making a general Massacre of the *Papists*, and particularly of the *Irish* which should any where be found. Happily this Terrour vanished in *London* as soon as the real Cause of it was known.

The Prince of Orange *reassembles the King's Army.*

In the mean Time the Prince of *Orange* having advanced as far as *Henley*, fearing the Disorders which might be committed by a disbanded Army, issued out a Declaration, requiring all Officers and Soldiers of the disbanded Army, forthwith to repair to such Places as should be appointed for that Purpose, by their respective Colonels and Commanders, whereof special Notice was to be given to him for his further Order. This Declaration was followed by another of the Lords at *London*, to the same Effect, with an additional Promise of Subsistence till they should be otherwise provided for, to all Officers and Soldiers who should obey, and deliver up their Arms to Persons appointed to receive them. Besides this, all Magistrates were required to apprehend, and seize all such Soldiers as should not repair to their respective Bodies, and to deal with them as *Vagabonds*.

The Lords pursue the same Design.

The King arrested, and abused by the Rabble at Feversham.

All this while it was constantly believed that the King had left the Kingdom, and indeed he was gone from *Whitehall* with that Intention. He had got to a little Place near *Feversham*, and even embarked in a small Vessel that was to carry him to a Frigate, ready to transport him to *France*. This Vessel not being able to sail immediately, by Reason of a tempestuous Wind, Sir *Edward Hales*, one of the King's Attendants, sent his Footman to the *Post-Office* at *Feversham*. His Livery was known by a Person who gave the Alarm that Sir *Edward* was not far off.

The

The Footman was followed to the River-ſide, and ſeen making Signs to ſome People on Board a Bark, whereupon the Fiſhermen, and other Perſons of *Feverſham* got into Boats, and immediately boarded the Ship where the King was. Sir *Edward* was ſoon known, and the King being taken for his Chaplain, had a great many Indignities put upon him. He was rifled of four Hundred Guineas, ſeveral valuable Seals and Jewels. Amongſt the People who crouded into the Ship, was a Conſtable who knew the King, and throwing himſelf at his Feet, begged his Forgiveneſs of the Rudeneſs offered to his Perſon, and ordered Reſtitution to be made of what had been taken from him. The King received the Jewels and the Seals, but gave the four Hundred Guineas to be divided amongſt the Rabble. After this he deſired Leave to go, but was denied, the People by a Sort of Violence conducting him to a publick Inn in the Town. Here he ſent for the Earl of *Winchelſea*, Lord-Lieutenant of the County, who prevailed with him not to leave the Kingdom, but to return towards *London*. 1688.

Returns to London.

This News being brought to *London* had various Effects upon the Minds of People. Some wiſhed he had never been ſtopt, others were pleaſed with an Occaſion of convincing him that no harm was intended to his Perſon. The Lords and Magiſtrates at *London*, who had made ſuch Advances towards the Prince of *Orange*, were in ſome Confuſion on reflecting what they had done, and not without Fears of being called to account, ſhould Affairs take a different Turn. At laſt the Lords aſſembling, thought it proper to depute four of their Body to wait on the King with an Invitation to him to return to *Whitehall*, and with Aſſurances of treating him with all the Reſpect due to him, and Coaches were immediately ſent to bring him. At the ſame Time an Expreſs was diſpatched to the Prince of *Orange*, to acquaint him that the King was ſtill in the Kingdom. The Prince who was come as far as *Windſor*, was not a little ſtruck with the News. He was making what haſte he could to

1688. *London* to settle with the Lords, by whom he was expected, the Affairs of the Nation, in a Supposition that the King had left it. But his Majesty's Return threw the Prince into great Perplexity, and naturally called upon him to think of taking other Measures. Nevertheless as the King had now no Army, and by his percipitate Flight, had lost all Confidence of his Friends, and all Esteem of his Enemies; as he had no longer any Command, but was in some Measure under Command himself; the Prince dispatched Monsieur *Zuylestein* to him to desire his Stay at *Rochester* till it could be known what was fit to be done. But Monsieur *Zuylestein* missing his way, the King arrived in *London* the 16th of *December*, about four in the Afternoon, where he was received with Acclamations as if he had been returning from a Victory.

The King being restored to his Palace, and in some manner to his deserted Royalty, discovered an Inclination to resume his old Measures, and still to brave the *Protestants*. In all Appearance, the Acclamations as he passed through *London* had revived his Courage, and flattered his Hopes of a general Declaration in his Favour. The first Thing he did was the issuing out an Order of Council, which set forth, That his Majesty being given to understand that divers Outrages had been committed in several Parts of the Kingdom, by burning, pulling down, and defacing of Houses, his Majesty commanded all Lord-Lieutenants, *&c.* to prevent such Outrages for the future, and to bring the Authors of them to condign Punishment. This was his last publick Act, which crowned so many others done in his Reign in favour of the *Roman Catholicks*. Moreover he discharged an *Irish* Popish Bishop, who had been sent to *Newgate*, and during his short Stay at *Whitehall*, scarce any but Priests and Papists were seen about him.

His last Act of Royalty.

The King in his Journey to *London*, had dispatched the Earl of *Feversham* with a Letter to the Prince, "Kindly to invite him to the Palace at St. *James's*, "with what Number of Guards and Troops he "should

"ſhould think convenient to bring along with him, 1688.
"that they might amicably and perſonally confer
"together about the means of redreſſing the Pub-
"lick Grievances." The Prince returned no An-
ſwer. But the Moment the Earl of *Feverſham* was
out of his Preſence, Monſieur *Bentinck* demanded his
Sword, and told him he had Orders to arreſt him.
This without doubt was owing to his precipitate diſ-
banding of the Army. Some indeed have thought
it was done in order to keep him at a Diſtance from
the King's Perſon, as he was ſuſpected of having
given him ill Advice, or becauſe he was too much
devoted to him, though he then, and afterwards, con-
ſtantly made Profeſſion of the *Proteſtant* Religion.

The Earl of Feverſham ſent by the King to the Prince, is arreſted.

In a Council held by the Prince, and the *Engliſh*
Lords who were with him, it was reſolved, "That
"the Royal Palace at *Whitehall* being ſtill crouded
"with *Iriſh Papiſts*, *Prieſts*, and *Jeſuits*, his *Highneſs*
"could not with Eaſe and Safety remain at St.
"*James*'s, where he muſt neceſſarily go the next
"Day, without his Majeſty and his *Popiſh* Guards
"were removed within a reaſonable Diſtance from
"*London*." Beſides, an Accident which fell out two
Days before, put the Prince's Friends more upon
their Guard in their juſt Concern for him. For the
Duke of *Grafton* marching through the *Strand* at the
Head of a Regiment to take *Tilbury*-Fort out of the
Hands of the *Iriſh*, an *Iriſh* Officer riding up to him
fired a Piſtol at him; for which he was ſhot dead
upon the Place. With greater Reaſon might ſuch a
Deſign be apprehended againſt the Prince from ſome
Perſons in the King's Guards. Some of the Council
propoſed ſending the King Priſoner to *Breda*. But
the Prince of *Orange* rejected the Propoſal with In-
dignation, proteſting, *That he could not* conſent *to put
him under any Reſtraint*. At laſt, ſince the Prince's
Preſence at *London* was abſolutely neceſſary, it was
agreed that the King ſhould be deſired to remove to
Ham, a Houſe belonging to the Dutcheſs of *Lauder-
dale*. It appears from this that the King's Interpoſi-

1688. tion was no longer considered as absolutely necessary to settle the Affairs of the Kingdom. And indeed it seems that since he had formed a Design to abandon all, he had no more a Right to pretend to any Thing. Pursuant to this Resolution the Prince of *Orange* signed an Order directed to the Marquess of *Halifax*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Delamere*, to acquaint the King with it, and to tell him he should be attended by his Guards, to preserve him from any Disturbances.

Three Lords sent by the Prince to the King.

The Dutch *Guards take possession of* Whitehall *and St. James's.*

Immediately after, the Prince ordered the Regiment of his Guards, consisting of three Battalions, to march and take Possession of all the Posts about *Whitehall* and St. *James*'s, either by fair means or Force. The King informed of it, sent for Count *Solms*, who commanded these Guards, and prayed him, *If it could be, to let him have his own Guard at* Whitehall, *only for that Night*; but the Count alledging his Order, *to Relieve all the Posts*, the King answered, *do your Office.* At Ten a Clock of Night the *Dutch* Blue Guards entered St. *James*'s House, and towards Eleven, those who were ordered to *Whitehall*, moved through the Park, and with lighted Match, and in order of Battle, marched up to the King's Guards. The Captain of these Guards seeming unwilling to dislodge, at last received the King's Orders to retire. After this the *Dutch* took Possession of the Guard-House, and at the same Time relieved all the Posts about *Whitehall* and the *Park*, placing every where double Centries. So that during the Remainder of the Night, the King was absolutely in the Power of the Prince of *Orange*. An Hour after Midnight, the three Lords appointed by the Prince came to *Whitehall*, and sent to awake the King for an Audience. The King ordering them to come to his Bed-side, they delivered the Prince's Message, which was to desire his Majesty's Departure to *Ham*; to which the King consented; but after they were gone out, he ordered them to be recalled, and prayed them to tell the Prince, that he desired rather to go to *Rochester*, which

The King desired by the Prince to remove to Ham, *makes choice of* Rochester

which the Prince granted that very Night. The Prince's Anſwer reaching the King at eight in the Morning, the King about Noon took Barge, attended by the Earls of *Ailesbury*, *Litchfield*, *Arran*, and *Dumbarton*, ſix of the Yeomen of his Guard, and about a Hundred of the *Dutch* Guards, commanded by the Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment. About nine at Night he arrived at *Graveſend*, where were his own Coaches, and from whence with ſome Troops of the *Militia*, he was the next Day conducted to *Rocheſter*. 1688.

The Prince of Orange *arrives at St.* James's.

The Prince arrived in *London* the ſame Day that the King left it, and lodged at St. *James*'s, where he received the Complements of the Nobility, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of *London*.

From this Time it may be ſaid that the King was a mere Cypher. He was indeed under no Confinement, but had no Power left of either doing Good or Harm. So that the Great Officers of the Crown, or the greateſt Part of them, laid down the Badges of their Offices, as the *Staff*, the *Key*, &c. thinking they had no longer any Right to exerciſe the ſame.

A ſecond Inſurrection of the Mob.

During the Publick Rejoycings at *London*, occaſioned by the Prince's Arrival, the Mob made a ſecond Inſurrection, and inſulted the Houſes of *Papiſts*, without exception of thoſe of Ambaſſadors. As there was properly no Government, ſuch Exceſſes were almoſt unavoidable, no Perſon being legally qualified to reſtrain them. At laſt, the Privy-Council ordered that all Foreigners ſhould be permitted quietly to leave the Kingdom. The Prince of *Orange* ſent particular Paſſes to the Pope's *Nuncio*, the Envoys of *Poland*, *Savoy*, and *Modena*. The *Popiſh* Lords, *Langdale* and *Montgomery* were ſet at Liberty. But the Earls of *Peterborough* and *Salisbury* were kept in Cuſtody on account of Impeachments entered in form againſt them. *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits, who had been apprehended ſince the King's Flight, were likewiſe detained.

Mean

1688. *The Prince assembles the Peers about* London.

Mean while, as it was absolutely necessary to put an End to the Anarchy, under which the Nation then laboured, the Prince of *Orange* assembled the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in *London*, to the Number of above Threescore, and made this short Speech to Them. "*My Lords*, I have desired you to meet "here, to advise the best Manner how to pursue the "Ends of my *Declaration*, in calling a *Free Parlia-* "*ment*, for the Preservation of the *Protestant Religion*, "the Restoring the *Rights* and *Liberties* of the King- "dom, and Settling the same that they may not be "in Danger of being again subverted". After this he withdrew and left them to consult together. His Declaration was read, and the Lords voted him their particular Thanks. Next they resolved to assemble every Day in their old House at *Westminster*, and named five of the most eminent Lawyers to assist them in the Room of the Judges, who were most of them absent. It was farther proposed that they should all sign the Association subscribed by some of the Nobility and Gentry at *Exeter*. To this all agreed, the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Nottingham*, the Lord *Wharton*, and all the Bishops (but *London*) excepted. The Objection of the Bishops was chiefly founded upon the Unchristian Word *Revenge*, which to satisfy Them, was afterwards changed into that of *Punishment*.

The Bishops and some Temporal Lords refuse to sign the Association.

In the mean Time the King found himself at *Rochester* in a melancholy Situation, being sensible that his Flight had done him an irreparable Injury. The Measures taken at *London* shewed that he was no longer regarded as a King proper to have the Government, and he had not Power sufficient to restore himself to it. However some of his Creatures were pressing with Him to call a Parliament, assuring Him that since his Misfortune the People were evidently changed, and had turned their Resentments into Pity. But the very Name of a *free Parliament* made him tremble. For besides that his Conscience might well reproach him and inspire this Fear, he plainly saw that the

the leaſt which could befal him, would be the Maintenance of the *Proteſtant* Religion by the Care of the Parliament, and a laſting Diſtruſt of himſelf. Probably it was this Fear of living the Reſt of his Days in ſo uncomfortable a Condition, which determined him to withdraw into *France*. And indeed he might flatter himſelf with the Hopes of being one Day reſtored by the Power of that Crown. Whereas by ſtaying in *England*, he had no other Proſpect but that of a Royalty held under a thouſand Mortifications, with no poſſible Way of bringing himſelf out of them, but with ſtill greater Hazard and Danger. Whatever were his Motives, which can only be gueſſed at, on the 23d of *December*, about four in the Morning, he went away in Company of only the Duke of *Berwick* his natural Son, Mr. *Skelton*, and *Abadie*, and on Horſeback reached the Sea, where he embarked in a ſmall *Frigate*, which landed him ſafely at *Ambleteuſe* in *France*, from whence he went directly to St. *Germains*. It was eaſy for him to execute this Deſign, no Perſon about him having any Orders to ſtop or hinder him from diſpoſing of himſelf as he pleaſed. In all Likelihood the Prince of *Orange* received not leſs Satisfaction from this ſecond Flight, than he had done from the firſt. The Preſence of the King muſt needs have been troubleſome to him. Beſides his natural Generoſity, he had promiſed the Princeſs that nothing ſhould be attempted againſt the Life or Liberty of her Father, who therefore could not have done a greater Service to him, than by this voluntary Flight out of the Kingdom. Beſides, this afterwards furniſhed the Pretext of his *Abdication*, and that paved the Prince's Way to the Throne. When the King quitted *Rocheſter* he left the following Paper written with his own Hand. 1688.

" The World cannot wonder at my Withdrawing
" my ſelf now the ſecond Time. I might have ex-
" pected ſomewhat better Uſage after what I wrote to
" the Prince of *Orange*, by my Lord *Feverſham*,

" and

1688. " and the *Instructions* I gave him: But instead of an " Answer, such as I might have hoped for, What " was I to expect after the Usage I received, by ma- " king the said Earl a Prisoner, against the Practice " and Law of Nations: The Sending his own Guards " at Eleven a Clock at Night, to take Possession " of the Posts at *Whitehall*, without advertiseing me " in the least Manner of it: The Sending to me at " One a Clock after Midnight, when I was in Bed, " a kind of an *Order* by three Lords, *To be gone out " of my own* Palace *before Twelve that same Morning?* " After all this, how could I hope to be safe, so long " as I was in the Power of One, who had not only " done this to me, and invaded my Kingdoms, with- " out any just Occasion given for it; but that did " by his first *Declaration* lay the greatest Aspersions " upon me that Malice could invent, in that Clause " of it which concerns my *Son*. I appeal to all that " know me, nay, even to Himself, that in their Con- " sciences neither He, nor They, can believe me in " the least capable of so unnatural a *Villany*, nor of " so little *Common Sense*, to be imposed on in a Thing " of such a Nature as that. What had I then to " expect from One, who by all Arts, hath taken " such Pains to make me appear as *Black as Hell* to " my own People, as well as to all the World be- " sides? What Effect that hath had at Home, all " Mankind have seen by so *general a Defection* in my " Army, as well as in the Nation, amongst all Sorts " of People.

" I was born Free, and desire to continue so; and " though I have ventured my Life very frankly on " several Occasions, for the Good and Honour of my " Country, and am free to do so again (and which " I hope I shall yet do as old as I am, to reedem it " from the *Slavery* it is like to fall under) yet I think " it not convenient to expose my self to be so secu- " red, as not to be at Liberty to effect it; and for " that Reason to withdraw, but so as to be within " Call whenever the Nation's Eyes shall be Opened,

so

" ſo as to ſee how they have been abuſed and impo- 1688.
" ſed upon by the ſpecious Pretences of *Religion* and
" *Property*. I hope it will pleaſe God to touch their
" Hearts, out of his infinite Mercy, and to make
" them ſenſible of the ill Condition they are in, and
" bring them to ſuch a Temper, that a *Legal Par-*
" *liament* may be called; and that, amongſt other
" Things which may be neceſſary to be done, they
" will agree to *Liberty of Conſcience* to all *Proteſtant*
" *Diſſenters*; and that thoſe of my own *Perſwaſion*
" may be ſo far conſidered, and have ſuch a Share
" of it, as they may live peaceably and quietly, as
" all *Engliſhmen* and Chriſtians ought to do, and not
" be obliged to tranſplant themſelves; which would
" be very grievous, eſpecially to ſuch as live in their
" own Country. And I appeal to all Men, who are
" conſidering Men, and have had Experience, Whe-
" ther any Thing can make this Nation ſo Great and
" Flouriſhing, as *Liberty of Conſcience?* Some of our
" Neighbours dread it. I could add much more, to
" confirm what I have ſaid, but now is not the pro-
" per Time ".

This Letter remained not unanſwered. As I have not been able to procure the Animadverſions upon it by Dr. *Burnet*, I ſhall endeavour to ſupply the Want with ſome Obſervations of my own.

The firſt ſhall be taken from Mr. *Echard*, who very pertinently ſays, *That though the King gave ſome Reaſons for his ſecond Deſertion, he gave none at all for his firſt*. Now it was the *Firſt*, which principally ſhewed him rather willing to abandon his Kingdoms, than ſee himſelf forced to the Neceſſity of reſtoring Religion and the Laws.

2. The King ſuppoſed that the diſobliging Manner in which he had been treated by the Prince of *Orange*, left him no reaſonable Hope of Security and Safety to his Perſon: And yet he could not deny, that he had been in the Power of that Prince, who did him no Manner of Harm. At the very Time that he wrote

1688. this Letter he was at full Liberty to concert Meaſures for his Eſcape into *France*, and he put his Deſign in actual Execution, without any Difficulty thrown in his Way.

3. All that he ſaid concerning the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, in Vindication of himſelf, was only, *That all that knew him could not believe him in the leaſt capable of ſo unnatural a Villany.* But it was the Belief of his being privy to that *Unnatural Villany*, which preciſely fixed the Imputation upon Him.

4. He aſcribes the Defection of his Army and the whole Nation to the Artifices and Calumnies of the Prince of *Orange*; whereas the Hiſtory of his Reign is a Demonſtration that it could only be imputed to his own Conduct.

5. He would have it believed that he only conveyed himſelf from the preſent Danger, to be at Liberty, whenever the Eyes of the Nation ſhould be opened, to return and redeem it from the Slavery which he ſuppoſed it would fall under. But this Suppoſition was deſtroyed by the Event, the Number of *Engliſhmen*, who deſired his Reſtoration, being very inconſiderable.

6. He inſiſted That Liberty of Conſcience was abſolutely neceſſary to render the *Engliſh* Nation *Great* and *Flouriſhing*. But there could not, perhaps, have been found one ſingle *Engliſhman*, who believed this was the End propoſed by the King, but merely a Pretence made uſe of by him to introduce his own, and to deſtroy the *Proteſtant* Religion.

7. His ſaying that ſome Neighbours dreaded the Nation's becoming too *great* and *flouriſhing* by the Eſtabliſhment of an entire Liberty of Conſcience, was only an Inſinuation to have the People believe that the *Dutch* had lent their Ships and Forces to the Prince of *Orange*, purely for that Reaſon.

THE

THE
INTERREGNUM:
OR,
Vacancy of the THRONE.

UPON the King's Departure enſued an *Interregnum* of ſuch a Nature as had never before been known in *England*. This was not owing to the Death but to the Flight of the Sovereign. So at one and the ſame time the Kingdom was without a King, and without any one to repreſent him, and to take Care of the Government; and yet there was a King, but a Fugitive, and who meant not to renounce his Rights. In ſuch a Circumſtance it is in vain to appeal to *Laws*, *Cuſtoms*, or *Precedents*, ſince the Difference between this State, and that which *Laws* and *Cuſtoms* ſuppoſe, is obvious. *The Vacancy of the Throne.*

As ſoon as the Lords were acquainted with the King's Departure, they believed themſelves inveſted with a Power of acting in their own Names, becauſe in Fact no Perſons beſides themſelves had now any Pretence to intermeddle in the Government. There was then no Parliament in Being, and conſequently no Houſe of *Commons* to joyn the Lords in their Care of the Kingdom. By the Death or Deſertion of the *The Lords take upon themſelves the Adminiſtration of the Government.*

1688. King, all publick Charges and Offices ceaſe, becauſe they all come from him. The Peers therefore are inveſted with all the Power remaining in the Nation, as they ſtand neareſt the Throne, and on Them devolves the Care of the Government, till Things are brought back to their old Channel by the Body of the Nation repreſented in Parliament. The Kingdom was then in ſuch a State as no Time paſt ever ſaw the like, or afforded any Precedent to copy after on this Occaſion. The King had abandoned his Kingdom without any Conſtraint put upon him. His Liberty was reſerved entire to him, and there did not appear any other Motive for his Flight than his Fear of being obliged to call a free Parliament; which, in all Likelihood, would not have approved of the late Meaſures, but have ſettled again the Conſtitution on its antient Baſis. The Prince of *Orange* claimed no Share in the Government; the Calling of a *Free Parliament* was the utmoſt he pretended to. But this Parliament could not be called but by ſome Authority. And where was the Authority by which it could have aſſembled, had the Nation continued in an Anarchy, wherein no Perſon would have had a Right to interpoſe in the Government? It therefore either belonged to the Peers to provide for the Neceſſities of the State, or We muſt ſay, that, ſince the King had deſerted it without any Proviſion made for its Preſervation, it was to remain in its preſent Anarchy, till He ſhould think fit to reſume the Care of it. Let the Inconveniencies ariſing from the Power aſſumed by the Lords, be as great as you pleaſe, thoſe which Anarchy would have produced were infinitely greater and more dangerous. Nay, who knows but that one of the Motives of the King's Flight was the leaving his Kingdom in this State of Confuſion? Be that as it will, the Conjuncture now was ſuch, that extraordinary Methods of acting were neceſſary, becauſe the Exigences of the State required it.

The

1688.

Addreſs the Prince to charge himſelf with it:

The firſt Thing done by the Peers, after conſulting together, was the addreſſing the Prince of *Orange*, "To take upon him the Adminiſtration of publick "Affairs, both Civil and Military; the Diſpoſal of "the publick Revenue; and the Care of *Ireland* till "the *Convention* (of which there had been already "Mention) could aſſemble". The Addreſs bore Date the 25th of *December*. They next addreſſed him, "To iſſue out Miſſive Letters, ſubſcribed by "himſelf, to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal be-"ing *Proteſtants*, and to the ſeveral Counties, Cities, "and Boroughs, containing Directions for the chu-"ſing within Ten Days ſuch a Number of Perſons "to repreſent them, as are of Right to be ſent to "Parliament". Theſe two Addreſſes were ſigned by about ninety Lords that were then preſent in the Houſe. Theſe were followed by an Order from the ſame Peers, To all *Papiſts* to depart the City of *London* and ten Miles from the ſame, and not to remove from their Habitations above five Miles; excepting the Servants of the Queen Dowager, the Domeſticks of foreign Miniſters, and all Houſe-keepers in *London* and ten Miles from the ſame, who had been Traders for three Years laſt paſt. This Order likewiſe excepted ſuch *Popiſh* Officers as ſhould give Bail in ſix Days, to appear the firſt Day of the Term, and to be on their good Behaviour in the mean Time; but ſuch Officers as ſhould neglect, were to be taken into Cuſtody.

And to call a Convention.

They iſſue out an Order againſt Papiſts.

A Remark upon the Word Convention.

The Word *Convention*, to ſignify a Parliament aſſembled without the cuſtomary Formalities, was new in *England*, nor had, as I know of, ever then made uſe of in this Senſe but once, and that was after the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. This Prince finding, upon his Return into *England*, a Parliament ſitting which had not been ſummoned by him, would not own it as a Parliament, in Apprehenſion of the Conſequences. But on the other Hand, he would not deprive himſelf of the Benefit of the Reſolutions of this ſame Parliament, which had reſtored him to the

1688. Throne of his Anceſtors. Therefore to reconcile theſe two Things together, he was willing to own it under the Name of a *Convention*. Probably the Word was borrowed from a Practice in *Scotland*, where a Difference is made between a *Convention* of the *States*, and a *Parliament*. It was therefore this *Convention* of the Year 1660 that the Lords had in View, when they addreſſed the Prince of *Orange* to call one. But as this was a ſingle Precedent, and as even the *Convention* of the Year 1660 had been firſt called under the Name of a Parliament, the Prince thought that beſides the Suffrages of the Peers, it was neceſſary to be authorized by others, which might paſs for thoſe of the People. He therefore publiſhed an Order, "Deſiring all ſuch Perſons as had ſer-"ved in any of the Parliaments during the Reign of "the late King *Charles* II, to meet him at St. *James*'s "upon the 26th of *December*, by ten of the Clock "in the Morning. He deſired likewiſe that the "*Lord-Mayor* and Court of *Aldermen* of the City "of *London*, and Fifty of the Common-Council, "would be there at the ſame time".

The Prince aſſembles ſeveral old Members of Parliament,

and asks their Advice.

In Purſuance of this Order, about One hundred and ſixty Members, the Aldermen of *London* (the Mayor being indiſpoſed) and the Deputies of the Common-Council, met at St. *James*'s on the Day appointed, where the Prince told them in few Words, "That he had deſired them to meet him there to "adviſe the beſt Manner how to purſue the Ends "of his Declaration, in calling a free Parliament "for the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant* Religion, "and the reſtoring the *Rights* and *Liberties* of the "Kingdom." They all repaired immediately to the *Common*'s Houſe in *Weſtminſter*. Where the firſt Queſtion debated was, *What Authority they had to Aſſemble?* But that Queſtion was ſilenced by a general Concurrence, that the Requeſt of the Prince was a ſufficient Warrant. The next Queſtion was, *How the Prince could take upon him the Adminiſtration of Affairs, without a diſtinguiſhing Name or Title?* But

as this Queſtion tended to ſpin out the Deliberations, and defeat the Ends propoſed by the Meeting, it was thought proper to wave any ſuch in their future Debates. An *Aſſociation* was likewiſe propoſed to be ſigned, but as to that, every Perſon was left at Liberty to act as he thought fit. After theſe previous Debates, they reſolved to addreſs the Prince, after the Pattern of the Lords, to take upon him the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, until the Meeting of the intended *Convention*, the 22d Day of *January* next enſuing. The Anſwer returned by the Prince to this Addreſs and that of the Lords was the ſame, that he would endeavour as far as he was able to ſecure the Peace of the Nation, according to their Deſire. 1688. *Which was to take upon him the Government, and to call a Convention.*

During the whole Time of the King's Stay at *Rocheſter*, *Monſieur de Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, had been active to promote Diviſions amongſt the Peers, with a View to ſerve his Maſter's Intereſts. Of this the Prince was not inſenſible; but as he was inveſted with no Authority, he was obliged to ſuffer this Behaviour of that Miniſter, who he knew was the greateſt Enemy he had in *England*. But the Moment he ſaw himſelf intruſted with the Government, he ſent an expreſs Order to him to leave the Kingdom within four and twenty Hours. At the ſame Time he ſent to him, a *French* Gentleman, a Refugee, named *St. Leger*, to attend him to the Ship. That Gentleman could not forbear ſaying to the Ambaſſador as they were on the Road, *Sir, had any one told you a Year ago, that a Refugee ſhould be commiſſioned to ſee you out of* England, *would you have believed it?* The Ambaſſador anſwered, *Sir, croſs over with me to* Calais, *and I will give you an Anſwer.* *The* French *Ambaſſador ordered to leave* England.

On *Sunday* the 30th of *December*, the Prince of *Orange* went to the Royal Chapel at *St. James*'s, where he was preſent at *Divine Service*, * and a Sermon preached by Dr. *Lloyd*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*; after which *The Prince communicates in the Church of* England.

* Dr. *Burnet* read *Prayers.*

1688. he received the Sacrament from the Hands of the Biſhop of *London*. This publick Profeſſion of the *Engliſh* eſtabliſhed Religion, ſerved not a little to diſſipate the Fears of thoſe, who dreaded his too zealous Adherence to the *Presbyterian* Religion, in which he had been educated. But it is to be remembred, that though the Difference between the *Epiſcopal* and *Presbyterian* Churches has bred a world of Noiſe, Diſturbance, and Enmity in *England*, yet both *Then* and *Now* the Number of foreign *Proteſtants*, who make any ſcruple of communicating with the Church of *England*, is very inconſiderable.

The next Day the Prince iſſued out a Proclamation, authorizing all publick Officers, not being *Papiſts*, to act in their reſpective Offices, till the Meeting of the intended *Convention*, or Order to the contrary.

The Prince viſits the Queen-Dowager. The ſame Day he payed a Viſit to the Queen-Dowager, who asked of him by way of Hint, the Liberty of her Chamberlain the Earl of *Feverſham*, which he granted with a very good Grace.

Affairs of Scotland. Although in the Hiſtory of the two laſt Reigns I have dwelt but little on the Affairs of *Scotland*, the Reader nevertheleſs may have remarked that this Kingdom was entirely ſubjected to an arbitrary Power, and to an *Epiſcopal* Government, contrary to the general Bent of the People. When once the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration for that Kingdom (the ſame in Subſtance with that for *England*) was publiſhed there, the *Presbyterians* began to raiſe their Heads; thoſe at the Helm not daring to uſe any Violence for fear ſuch a Proceeding might produce a general Inſurrection, which muſt have been attended with extreme Prejudice to the King's Affairs in the preſent Juncture. Things ſtood in this Poſture, till the King's Party in *England* began to draw off. For though the *Scotch* Biſhops had publiſhed an Abhorrence of the Prince's Expedition, this was by no means the Sentiment of the Nation in general. Every Man felt the Weight of the Yoke laid on him, and the *Epiſcopa-*

lians

lians themſelves had reaſon to fear that under the Pretext of humbling the *Presbyterians*, the King intended to deſtroy the *Proteſtant* Religion. So far their Caſe was the ſame with that of the *Engliſh*. And therefore the Duke of *Queensbury* and ſome other *Scotch* Gentlemen were come up to *London* to deſire the Calling of a *free Parliament*. The Senſe which the *Scots* had of their preſent Servitude, will eaſily be imagined from this Proceeding. The Lord Chancellor, upon the News of King *James*'s withdrawing, immediately reſigned the *Great-Seal*, and retired from *Edinburgh*. Upon this the Populace of that City, inſulted and rifled, not only the *Roman-Catholicks*, but alſo thoſe who had appeared moſt devoted to the Epiſcopal Party. Wherefore the Biſhops ſaw themſelves under a Neceſſity to retire, to avoid the Inſults of the *Presbyterians*, who from this time grew much ſuperiour to their late Perſecutors. On the other Hand, ſeveral *Scotch* Lords and Gentlemen repaired to *London*, to obſerve the Motions there, and to determine their Conduct by what they ſhould ſee done in *England*. 1688.

The Prince of *Orange*, unable at that time to viſit *Scotland*, gave notice to the *Scotch* Peers and Gentlemen then in *London*, that he ſhould be glad to talk with them at St. *James*'s on the publick Affairs. Thirty Lords and Fourſcore Gentlemen waited on him, of whom he asked Advice (as he had of the *Engliſh*) what could be done for the ſecuring the *Proteſtant Religion*, and reſtoring their *Laws*, and *Liberties*, according to his *Declaration?* The Prince having ended his Speech, the Lords and Gentlemen repaired to the Council-Chamber at *Whitehall*, and having choſen the Duke of *Hamilton* their Preſident, conſulted upon the *Advice* moſt proper to be given to the Prince. This Affair was in effect ſettled the firſt Day. But the next they were croſſed by a Propoſal from the Earl of *Arran*, That the King ſhould be deſired to return, and call a free Parliament. The Tendency of this was eaſily ſeen, and therefore

1688. met with univerſal Diſcouragement. At laſt, it was agreed to preſent an Addreſs to the Prince of *Orange* to deſire him to take upon him the Adminiſtration of all Affairs both civil and military, and to call a general Meeting of the *States* to be holden the 14th of the following *March*. This Addreſs being preſented to the Prince, he deſired time to conſider of it, and two Days after returned in Subſtance the ſame Anſwer that he had before done to the *Engliſh*.

Of Ireland. Affairs in *Ireland* had not ſo favourable an Aſpect as in *Scotland*. The Earl of *Tyrconnel*, a zealous *Papiſt* and Creature of the King, was Lord-Lieutenant, and at the Head of an Army moulded by himſelf, of which the Officers and Soldiers were generally *Papiſts*. There was Room therefore to fear that the Earl would not abide by the Reſolutions taken in *England*, and in ſuch caſe the *Engliſh* were then in no Condition to force him to a Complyance. Mean while, the Prince of *Orange* having received Addreſſes not only from the Lords and *Commons* of *England* relating to *Ireland*, but likewiſe from the *Proteſtants* of that Kingdom, could not excuſe himſelf from attempting to procure the Happineſs of a Nation which depended upon *England*. It was therefore thought proper to ſummon the Earl of *Tyrconnel* by a Letter, to ſubmit to the preſent Adminiſtration in *England*. The Delivery of this Letter was committed to the Care of Colonel *Hamilton*, who promiſed to ſecond it with his Perſuaſions. But it was afterwards known that he was one of the moſt zealous Oppoſers of the Meaſures propoſed in it.

I have before ſaid, that the Prince and the Lords had ordered the Forces disbanded by the Earl of *Feverſham* to re-aſſemble. When this was done, the Prince diſcharged the Arrears of the *Engliſh* Army with Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds advanced in four Days by the City of *London*, Sixty Thouſand of it being lent by one ſingle Hand *. After this he ordered

* Sir *Samuel Daſhwood*.

dered a Reform of Eight new raiſed Regiments, beſides the Troop of Life-Guards commanded by the Lord *Dover*, who were all *Papiſts*. In ſhort, ſeveral Colonels and other Officers having reſigned their Commiſſions upon account of the new Oath exacted of them, he filled up the Vacancies with *Proteſtants*, and in a word took all poſſible care to put the Army under ſuch a Regulation as might render it ſerviceable to the State. 1688.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury *ſigns the Aſſociation.*

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had hitherto declined waiting on the Prince of *Orange*. But at laſt he ſent his Complement to the Prince, and with Seven or Eight Biſhops more ſigned the *Aſſociation*, after ſome words were ſoftned in it, that gave them ſome Uneaſineſs.

The Diſſenting Miniſters wait on the Prince.

At the ſame time about Ninety Diſſenting Miniſters attended the Prince, and aſſured him of their Prayers for the Preſervation of his Perſon, and the Succeſs of his Endeavours for the Defence and Propagation of the *Proteſtant Intereſt*. The Prince returned a favourable Anſwer, though conceived in general Terms, and which carried an Inſinuation that it would be no fault of his, if they were not made eaſy.

Elections for the Convention.

In the mean time the Elections for the Members of the *Convention* were carried on with all imaginable Freedom. The Electors gave their Votes according to their own Inclinations, without any Endeavours uſed by the Prince's Friends to have one Man elected rather than another. Moreover the Prince had ordered the Soldiers to remove at a certain Diſtance from the Places of Election, to take away all Pretence of Compulſion.

The Prince ſends for the Princeſs.

Mean while, the Prince conſidering that the *Convention* was to ſettle the Government, thought it proper to ſend for his Spouſe the Princeſs; ſince if, as was probable, the Convention ſhould declare the Throne vacant, no Perſon had a juſter Pretention to it than herſelf. It is likewiſe by no means improbable that he might think he had himſelf ground to aſpire

1688. ſpire to the Throne, by the great Services he had done the *Engliſh*. But the ſevere Froſt retarded her Departure from *Holland* longer than he expected.

1688 9. *The Convention meets.* The *Convention* met the 22d of *January* in two Houſes, like a Parliament. The Peers choſe the Marqueſs of *Halifax* for their Speaker, and the *Commons* Mr. *Powle*. In each Houſe was read a Letter of the Prince of *Orange*, which he addreſſed to Both in theſe Words:

" *My* LORDS *and* GENTLEMEN,

The Prince of Orange's Letter to the Convention. " I HAVE endeavoured to the utmoſt of my " Power to perform what was deſired from me, " in order to the publick Peace and Safety; and I do " not know that any thing hath been omitted which " might tend to the Preſervation of them, ſince " the Adminiſtration of Affairs was put into my " Hands. It now lieth upon you to lay the Foun- " dation of a firm Security for your *Religion*, your " *Laws*, and your *Liberties*. I do not doubt, but " that by ſuch a *full* and *free Repreſentative* of the " Nation, as is now met, the Ends of my *Declara-* " *tion* will be attained: And ſince it hath pleaſed " God hitherto to bleſs my good Intentions with " ſo great Succeſs, I truſt in him, that he will com- " pleat his own Work, by ſending a Spirit of Peace " and Union to influence your Counſels, that no In- " terruption may be given to a happy and laſting " Settlement.

" The dangerous Condition of the *Proteſtants* in " *Ireland* requiring a large and ſpeedy Succour, and " the preſent State of things abroad, oblige me to " tell you, that next to the Danger of unreaſonable " Diviſions among our ſelves, nothing can be ſo fa- " tal as too great a Delay in your Conſultations. " The *States*, by whom I have been enabled to reſ- " cue this Nation, may ſuddenly feel the ill Effects " of it, both by being too long deprived of the " Service of their Troops, which are now here, and

" of

" of your early Aſſiſtance againſt a powerful Ene- 1688-9.
" my, who hath declared a War againſt them. And
" as *England* is by Treaty already engaged to help
" them upon ſuch Exigencies, ſo I am confident,
" that their chearful Concurrence to preſerve this
" Kingdom with ſo much Hazard to themſelves,
" will meet with all the Returns of Friendſhip and
" Aſſiſtance, which may be expected from you as
" *Proteſtants* and *Engliſhmen*, whenever their Condi-
" tion will require it.

" *Given at St.* James's *the* 22*d Day of* January,
" 1688-9."

The Prince addreſſed by the two Houſes.

After this Letter was read, the two Houſes preſented an Addreſs to the Prince, in which they acknowledged him under God the Deliverer of the Nation: They approved likewiſe all that had been done by him ſince he had taken the Adminiſtration, which they prayed him to continue till farther Application ſhould be made to him by them, which ſhould be done with all convenient Speed: They promiſed alſo to diſpatch the Matters recommended to them by his Letter. The Prince in his Anſwer accepted the Offers made him by the two Houſes, and ſtrongly preſſed them to turn their Eyes towards the Affairs of *Europe*.

A Thankſgiving appointed.

The firſt thing done by the two Houſes after their Addreſs of Thanks to the Prince, was the Appointing a General Thankſgiving for the happy Deliverance of the Nation: And as, on theſe Occaſions, Prayers ſuited to the Day are always compoſed by the Biſhops, they had an Order to inſert a particular Prayer for the Prince of *Orange*.

A Letter from King James *to his Privy-Council,*

In the mean time King *James*, ſenſible of the Prejudice which his Flight had done him, endeavoured to prevent the Conſequences by a Letter to the *Lords and other of his Privy-Council* left behind him at *London*. He there repeated much the ſame Reaſons as before, in the Writing left on his Table at his Departure from *Rocheſter*, and declared his Intention

to

1688 9. to return to *England* for the holding a *free Parliament*. He reproached the Prince of *Orange* with Artifices uſed by him to hinder his holding ſuch a Parliament, and required their Advice, *what was fit to be done by him towards his Returning*. Though this Letter was immediately printed and diſperſed, no great Regard was paid to it. Even the Perſons to whom it was addreſſed, judged it not proper to return any Anſwer, as the *Convention* was then ſitting. *James* therefore writ two Letters to the Houſes of the *Convention*, very near the ſame with that ſent to his Privy-Council, only in theſe was added, a Promiſe, on the *Word of a King*, of a Pardon even to thoſe that betrayed him (ſome few excepted) and a Reſolution by an *Act of Oblivion*, to cover all Faults. But each of the Houſes returning the Letters unopened, the Friends of King *James* complained of this Behaviour as a very great Hardſhip.

and to the two Houſes of Convention.

Rejected.

The Houſe of *Commons* having for ſome Days diſcontinued their Sitting, met not again till the 28th of *January*, to give time to ſome Members, then on the Road, to come up to Town. That Day Mr. *Dolben*, Son to the late Archbiſhop of *York*, made a long Speech to prove the Vacancy of the Throne, by the voluntary Deſertion of King *James*. Upon this aroſe a Debate which held four or five Hours, and ended with this memorable Vote:

Vote of the Commons.

"That King *James the Second*, having endeavoured "to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, by "breaking the *Original Contract* between King and "People; and by the Advice of *Jeſuits* and other "wicked Perſons, having violated the *fundamental* "*Laws*, and withdrawn himſelf out of the King-"dom, hath *abdicated* the Government, and that "the Throne is thereby become *vacant*."

Another.

The next Day, the *Commons* farther voted, "That "it hath been found by Experience to be incon-"ſiſtent with this *Proteſtant* Kingdom to be governed "by a *Popiſh* Prince."

They

1688 9.

Addreſs to the Prince of Orange

They preſented likewiſe an Addreſs to the Prince of *Orange*, for the ſtopping all Ships that were going to *France*. Two Days after, they voted, that the Thanks of the Houſe ſhould be given to the Clergy of the Church of *England*, who had refuſed to read in the Churches the King's Declaration for Toleration. The like was voted to the Officers and Soldiers, for having teſtified their ready Adherence to the *Proteſtant* Religion; aud to all ſuch as had appeared in Arms for the Defence of the ſame. All theſe Votes were ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence.

Great Debates in the Houſe of Lords.

But in the Houſe of Lords Matters did not go with that Unanimity. There were ſeveral Parties in that Houſe, who cauſed every Queſtion to be thoroughly ſcanned. It was on the 29th of *January* that the Lords began to conſider the Vote of the *Commons* concerning the Vacancy of the Throne. The firſt Motion was, "Not to agree with the *Commons* "that the Throne was vacant, but only to ſuppoſe "it for the preſent, leaving it to be further exami-"ned afterwards, in order to cut ſhort ſeveral other "Queſtions by determining this firſt, *Whether the* "*Throne being vacant, it ought to be filled up by a Re-*"*gent or a King*"? The Earl of *Nottingham*, who was at the Head of the Party for a Regent, made a long Speech, alledging ſundry Arguments for a Regency, taken from the *Engliſh* and other Hiſtories. He inſiſted particularly upon what had very lately paſſed in *Portugal*, where, *Alphonſo* VI being depoſed, his Brother *Don Pedro* had only the Title of Regent of the Kingdom. But the Marqueſs of *Halliſax* and the Earl of *Danby* demonſtrated on the other Side the inſuperable Difficulties attending the Adminiſtration of the Government under a Regent. In fine, after a very long Debate the Queſtion being put to the Vote, Fifty One were for a *King*, and Forty Nine only for a *Regency*. Thirteen * Biſhops were among the

A Regency is propoſed,

and rejected.

* Twelve;

1689. the laſt, and but Two among the firſt, namely, Dr. *Compton* Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Jonathan Trelawney* Biſhop of *Briſtol*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was abſent.

Remark on the Church of England.

If we call to mind the Principles advanced by the Church of *England* in the Reign of *Charles* II, and the Doctrine of *Paſſive-Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance* ſo ſtrenuouſly maintained and publickly preached, we ſhall not think it very ſtrange that the Biſhops voted againſt depoſing King *James* and ſetting another King on the Throne. This was a Step directly contrary to the Maxims they had approved not long before, and from which they did not think proper to depart entirely. The Truth is, by maintaining theſe extravagant Maxims, without admitting any Limitations, at a time when they thought of nothing but oppoſing the Principles of the *Republicans*, they had thrown themſelves into a dangerous Strait, which they were not ſenſible of, till they ſaw the *Proteſtant* Religion expoſed to the Danger theſe Maxims were attended with. They perceived then, it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſet Bounds to the Regal Authority, and were themſelves the Firſt to do it, by Refuſing to read the Declaration for Toleration. Herein they acted directly contrary to the Principle of *Paſſive-Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance* maintained before with ſo much Earneſtneſs, by the Church of *England*. This gave the King a fair Handle to reproach them when he told them, He did not expect to meet with Reſiſtance from the Church. Thus, after having advanced as an eſſential Doctrine of the Church of *England* that the Royal Power is *jure divino*, and that the King can never be diſobeyed without Sin, they ſhowed by their own Practice that this Doctrine muſt be received with this Reſtriction, *When the King enjoins Things according to Law. But in caſe his Commands are contrary to Law, he not only may, but even ought to be reſiſted.* A Doctrine which would never have been conteſted, had

had it been thus explained at firſt. When I ſay the Biſhops, I mean the Church of *England* in general. 1688 9.

It is certain then, that when the Queſtion was to be decided, Whether, on Suppoſition of the Vacancy of the Throne, it ſhould be filled with a *King* or a *Regent*, the Church of *England* was ſatisfied that *James* II had violated the Laws, and no longer deſerved to be truſted with the Government of the Kingdom. This was the general Opinion. The Point was to know, whether the *Title* and *Dignity* of King ſhould be left on him, and a Regent appointed to govern in his Room, or whether another King ſhould be ſet on the Throne. It is eaſy to ſee the ſmall Difference between a King actually depoſed, whoſe Throne is filled by another, and a fugitive King from whom no more Orders are to be received, and whoſe Authority is exerciſed by a Regent not of his appointing. But beſides the particular View ſome Lords might have of rendring the Reſtoration of King *James* leſs difficult, by leaving him the Title of King, the Biſhops found a conſiderable Advantage in a Regency. For by that they did not ſwerve ſo far from the Principle they had preached and cauſed to be preached, that the Regal Power is *jure divino*. Indeed, when Religion was in extreme Danger, they thought not fit to inſiſt upon this Principle. They had not only allowed and approved of the Prince of *Orange*'s coming to the Relief of their Religion, but moreover ſome of them had invited him into *England*. But the Storm being blown over, the fugitive King and *Catholick*-Party thrown down to the Ground, and all Fears vaniſhed, they believed it not incumbent upon them wholly to depart from their Principles. If, for their own Safety, they were willing the Kingdom ſhould be governed, not by King *James* but by a Regent, they could not on the other Hand find in their Hearts openly to go from what they had before maintained, that the Regal Power is *jure divino*, and the King's Character indelible.

On

1688-9. *The Question, whether there be an original Contract.*

On the Morrow, *January* 30, this Question was put in the House of Lords, *Whether or no there was an original Contract between the King and People?* This Point was debated with great Warmth, several maintaining, that such a Contract was only a Chimera. Others rejecting all the general Assertions urged by the first, and the Instances brought from the Practice of other Countries, kept to the particular Constitution of the *English* Government. They endeavoured to show that it must have been by virtue of such Contract that the Parliament had jointly with the King a Share in the Legislative Power; otherwise, the Right of the Parliament, in their Opinion, could be founded only upon Custom, which was not sufficient to balance the King's pretended *Divine Right:* whence it would follow that the King in virtue of his *Divine Right*, might abolish this Custom, and render himself absolute. But that the Prevention of such a Misfortune was the Occasion of their present Assembling. The Question being put to the Vote, Fifty-three were for the *Original Contract*, and Forty six only against it.

It passes in the Affirmative.

Debate about the Word Abdicated. *It it rejected.*

The next Day, they took into Consideration the Word *Abdicated*, and entered into a grammatical Dispute to know whether the Word could be understood only of a voluntary Abdication, without any manner of Compulsion, and it was concluded that the Word *Deserted* was more proper. They next examined the Word *Vacant*, and put this Question, *Whether King* James *having broke that Original Contract between him and his People, and deserted the Government, the Throne was thereby Vacant?* The Debates upon this Question were longer and more warm than any of the former. In short, the Party that maintained it was a Law-Maxim, That the King never dies, and consequently that the Throne can never be vacant, carried the Negative of the Question by Eleven Voices. But on the Morrow Forty Lords entered their Protestations against the Vote. As the Lord's Vote was founded upon the Crown's passing

Question about the Vacancy.

Rejected.

Protestation.

on

on the King's Demiſe, immediately to the next Heir, without any Vacancy, ſome of the other Party moved that, ſuppoſing King *James* to be dead in Law, the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* ſhould be declared King and Queen. But this was alſo carried in the Negative by Five Voices. 1689. *Motion to ſet the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange *on the Throne rejected.*

If a Man conſiders theſe ſeveral Reſolution altogether, and compares them one with another, the Lords will doubtleſs ſeem to have rendred it impoſſible for them to ſettle the Government in any way. In the firſt Place, the firſt Vote by which the Regency was rejected, was founded upon the Suppoſition of the Throne's being vacant, and yet by the laſt Vote it was carried that the Throne was not vacant. Secondly, they appeared willing to caſt off King *James* entirely, and agreed that he had broke the Original Contract, and *deſerted* the Government, and yet voted that the Throne was not vacant. Thirdly, in voting that the Throne was not vacant, becauſe the King never dies, and the Regal Authority paſſes with the laſt Breath of the dying King to the next Heir, they refuſed to declare the Princeſs of *Orange* Queen. There was therefore but one Expedient left, namely, to recognize for King the Prince of *Wales*, who was conveyed into *France*, a Prince that by moſt of the *Engliſh* was believed to be ſuppoſititious, and beſides would in all likelihood be bred a *Roman Catholick*. But the *Commons* had voted, and the Lords concurred afterwards to the Vote, that it was inconſiſtent with a *Proteſtant* Kingdom to be governed by a *Popiſh* King. The ſeveral Reſolutions of the Lords upon the Queſtions propoſed, ſeem therefore to tend ſolely to render the Settling of the Government impracticable. This, no doubt, was the Aim of ſome among them, that there might be no way to get out of this Strait but by recalling King *James*. Many People were ſatisfied of this, and therefore a Petition was drawn up to be preſented to the Lords, deſiring in plain Terms, that the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* might be ſettled on the Throne. *Remarks on theſe Votes.* *A Petition to the Lords drawn up in* London.

1689. Throne. Care was taken to have all ſorts of Hands to this Petition, that by the great Number of Subſcribers it might paſs for the Senſe of the People in general. But the Prince of *Orange* not liking this way of Proceeding, ſent the Lord-Mayor Orders to put a Stop to this tumultuous Project, which the Lord-Mayor did accordingly.

Suppreſſed by the Prince of Orange.

The Lords ſend down the Vote with two Amendments.

The 2d of *February* the Lords ſent a Meſſage to acquaint the *Commons* with the two *Amendments* they had made to their Vote of the 28th of *January*. The firſt Amendment was, inſtead of the Word *Abdicated* they would have *Deſerted* to be put in. The Second, that the Words, *and that the Throne is thereby become vacant*, ſhould be left out. The *Commons*, not pleaſed with theſe two Amendments, appointed a Committee to draw up Reaſons why they muſt inſiſt upon their Vote, and deſired a Conference with the Lords upon that Subject. This Conference produced no Effect, each Houſe perſiſting in their Opinion. Only the Earl of *Nottingham* intimated from the Lords that they inſiſted upon the Amendments, not to favour King *James*, but ſolely to maintain *Hereditary Right*, apprehenſive as they were that the Election of a King might deſtroy that Right. But the *Commons* perſiſting ſtill in their Opinion, by a Majority of two Hundred and Eighty-two, againſt one Hundred and Fifty-one, appointed Twenty-four of their moſt able Members to manage on this extraordinary Occaſion at a free Conference, for which the Lords named on their Part, the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Clarendon*, *Rocheſter*, *Pembroke*, with the Biſhop of *Ely*, and ſome others.

Conference upon the Occaſion.

This Conference between the two Houſes is the moſt remarkable that was ever held in *England*, as well on account of the Importance of the Thing itſelf, as for the Ability of the Managers; and therefore I have thought proper to inſert here the Particulars for the Sake of Foreigners, who though they have heard much Talk of this famous Diſpute, and may have read the Tranſlations of *Engliſh* Authors, that ſpeak

of

of it according to their ſeveral Prejudices, yet few Perſons have met with ſo impartial an Account as this which follows. I ſhall take the Liberty to add ſome Remarks to help the Reader to underſtand the Speeches made on this Occaſion. 1689.

Mr. *Hambden*, who opened the Conference, ſaid, 'My Lords, the *Commons* have deſired this free Conference, that they may make appear that it is not 'without ſufficient Reaſon, that they are induced to 'maintain their own Vote.—— They do very readily 'agree with your Lordſhips that it is a Matter of the 'greateſt Concernment to the Kingdom in general, 'and the *Proteſtant* Intereſt both at Home and Abroad, that there be a good Iſſue and Determination of the Buſineſs now in Debate between both 'Houſes.——It is true, the preſent Difference is only about a few Words; but the *Commons* think their 'Words ſo ſignificant to the Purpoſe for which they 'are uſed, and ſo proper to the Caſe unto which 'they are applied, that in ſo weighty a Matter as 'that now in Debate, they are by no means to be 'parted with.

'The Word *Abdicated* the *Commons* conceive is of 'larger Signification than the Word your Lordſhips 'are pleaſed to uſe, *Deſert*; but not too large to be 'applied to all the Recitals in the Beginning of the '*Commons* Vote, to which they meant it ſhould be 'applied. Nor ought it to be reſtrained to a voluntary expreſs Reſignation, only in Word or 'Writing, Overt-Acts there are that will be ſignificant enough to amount to it.

'My Lords, that the Common-Law of *England* 'is not acquainted with the Word, it is from the Modeſty of our Law, that it is not willing to ſuppoſe 'there ſhould be any unfortunate Occaſion of making uſe of it: And we would have been willing 'that we ſhould never have had ſuch an Occaſion as 'we have to have Recourſe to it. Your Lordſhips 'next Amendment is, that your Lordſhips have left

1689. ‘ out the last Words in the *Commons* Vote, *And that*
‘ *the Throne is thereby vacant.*
‘ My Lords, the *Commons* conceive it is a true Pro-
‘ position, and *that the Throne is vacant*; and they
‘ think they make it appear, that that is no new
‘ Phrase; neither is it a Phrase that perhaps some of
‘ the old Records may be Strangers to; or not well
‘ acquainted with: But they think it not chargeable
‘ with Consequences that your Lordships have been
‘ pleased to draw from it, *That it will make the Crown*
‘ *of* England *become Elective.* If the Throne had
‘ been full, we know your Lordships would have as-
‘ signed that, as a Reason of your Disagreement, by
‘ telling us who filled it; and it would be known by
‘ some Publick Royal Act, which might notify to
‘ the People in whom the Kingly Government resi-
‘ ded; neither of which hath been done, and yet
‘ your Lordships will not allow the *Throne to be va-*
‘ *cant.*”——

Mr. *Somers* (*b*) said——“ If it be an Objection,
‘ that the Word *Abdicated* hath not a known Sense in
‘ the Common-Law of *England*, there is the same
‘ Objection against the Word *Deserted*: So that your
‘ Lordships first Reason hath the same Force against
‘ your own Amendment, as it hath against the Term
‘ used by the *Commons.*
‘ The Words are both *Latin* Words, and used in
‘ the best Authors, and both of a known Significa-
‘ tion; their Meaning is very well understood;
‘ though it be true, their Meaning is not the same:
‘ The Word *Abdicate* doth naturally and properly
‘ signify, *entirely to Renounce, Throw off, Disown, Re-*
‘ *linquish any Thing or Person, so as to have no further*
‘ *to do with it*; *and that whether it be done by expres*
‘ *Words, or in Writing*, (which is the Sense your
‘ Lordships put upon it, and which is properly *Re-*
‘ *signation* or *Cession*) or, *by doing such Acts as are in-*
‘ *consistent*

(*a*) A famous Lawyer, who was afterwards Lord-Chancellor in the Reign of King *William* III.

'*conſiſtent with the Holding, or Retaining of the Thing*; 1639.
'which the *Commons* take to be the preſent Caſe, and
'therefore made Choice of the Word *Abdicate*, as that
'which they thought did, above all others, moſt pro-
'perly expreſs that Meaning: And in this latter Senſe
'it is taken by others,' [Here, to ſhow that it was the true Signification of the Word, he urged the Authorities of *Grotius*, *Calvin*, *Briſonius*, *Budæus*, and *Ballius*.]

'But the Word, *Deſerted*, hath not only a doubtful
'Signification, but in common Acceptance both of
'the Civil and Common-Law, doth ſignify only a
'*bare withdrawing, a Temporary quitting a Thing, and*
'*Neglect only, which leaveth the Party at Liberty of*
'*returning to it again.*' [For this he quoted *Spigelius* and *Bartolas*, adding,] 'Hence it appears that that
'is called *Deſertion* which is *Temporary and Relieva-*
'*ble*: That is called *Dereliction*, where there is no
'*Power of Right to return.*

'So in the Civil Law the Word *Deſert* is uſed to Cod. lib. 12.
'ſignify, *Soldiers leaving their Colours.* And in the Cal. Lex. Sec. Cau.
'Canon-Law to *Deſert a Benefice*, ſignifies no
'more than to be *Non-Reſident.*

'In both Caſes the Party hath not only a *Right of*
'*Returning*, but is *Bound to Return again*: Which,
'my Lords, as the *Commons* do not take to be the
'preſent Caſe; ſo they cannot think that your Lord-
'ſhips do; becauſe it is expreſsly ſaid in one of your
'Reaſons given in Defence of the laſt Amendment,
'*That your Lordſhips have been, and are willing, to ſe-*
'*cure the Nation againſt the Return of King* James;
'which your Lordſhips would not, in Juſtice, do, if
'you did look upon it no more then a *negligent With-*
'*drawing*, which leaveth a *Liberty to the Party to Re-*
'*turn.*

'For which Reaſons, my Lords, the *Commons*
'cannot agree to the firſt Amendment, to inſert the
'Word *Deſerted* inſtead of *Abdicated*; becauſe it doth
'not in any ſort come up to their Senſe of the Thing:
'So they do apprehend it doth not reach your Lord-

1689. ‘ ſhips Meaning, as it is expreſſed in your Reaſons; ‘ whereas they look upon the Word *Abdicated* to ex- ‘ preſs properly what is to be inferred from that Part ‘ of the Vote to which your Lordſhips have agreed, ‘ *That King* James *the Second, by going about to ſubvert* ‘ *the Conſtitution, and by breaking the Original Contract* ‘ *between King and People, and by violating the Funda-* ‘ *mental Laws, and by withdrawing himſelf out of the* ‘ *Kingdom*, hath thereby Renounced to be a King ac- ‘ cording to the Conſtitution, by avowing to govern ‘ by deſpotick Power, unknown to the Conſtitution, ‘ and inconſiſtent with it; he hath renounced to be ‘ King according to the Law, ſuch a King as he ‘ ſwore to be at the Coronation, ſuch a King to ‘ which the Allegiance of an *Engliſh* Subject is due; ‘ and hath ſet up another Kind of Dominion, which ‘ is to all Intents an *Abdication*, or *Abandoning of his* ‘ *Legal Title*, as fully as if it had been done by ex- ‘ preſs Words (1).

Mr. Serjeant *Holt* added, —— ‘ For that Part of ‘ your Lordſhips Objection, *That it is not a Word* ‘ *known to the Common-Law of* England, that cannot ‘ prevail; for your Lordſhips very well know, we ‘ have very few Words in our *Tongue* that are of e- ‘ qual Antiquity with the Common-Law; your Lord- ‘ ſhips know the Language of *England* is altered ‘ greatly in the ſeveral Succeſſions of Time, and the ‘ Intermixture of other Nations; and if we ſhould be ‘ obliged to make uſe only of Words then known ‘ and in uſe, what we ſhould deliver in ſuch a Dialect ‘ would be very difficult to be underſtood.

‘ Your

REMARK (1) *It is eaſy to perceive that theſe two Speeches of Mr.* Hambden *and Mr.* Somers *have relation to what was objected by the Lords in a former Conference againſt the Word* Abdicated, *and the* Vacancy of the Throne. *I thought proper to omit that other Conference, becauſe moſt of the Things therein alledged, are repeated in this. However, we may ſee here by the* Commons *Anſwers what the Lords Objections were.*

1689. 'Your Lordſhips ſecond Reaſon for your firſt A-
'mendment in changing the Word *Abdicated* for the
'Word *Deſerted*, is, *Becauſe in the common Acceptation*
'*of the Civil Law*, Abdication *is a voluntary expreſs*
'*Act of* Renunciation. That is the general Acceptа-
'tion of the Word, and I think the *Commons* do ſo
'uſe the Word in this Caſe, becauſe it hath that Sig-
'nification: But I do not know whether your Lord-
'ſhips mean a voluntary expreſs Act or formal
'Deed of *Renunciation*: If you do ſo, I confeſs I
'know of none in this Caſe: But my Lords, both
'in the Common-Law of *England*, and in the Civil
'Law, and in common Underſtanding, there are ex-
'preſs Acts of *Renunciation* that are not by Deed;
'for if your Lordſhips pleaſe to obſerve, the Govern-
'ment and Magiſtracy is under a Truſt, and any act-
'ing contrary to that Truſt, is a *Renouncing* of the
'Truſt, though it be not a *Renouncing* by formal
'Deed: For it is a plain Declaration by Act and
'Deed, though not in Writing, that he who hath
'the Truſt, acting contrary, is a Diſclaimer of the
'Truſt; eſpecially my Lords, if the Actings be ſuch
'as are inconſiſtent with, and ſubverſive of this
'Truſt; For how can a Man in Reaſon or Senſe,
'expreſs a greater *Renunciation* of a Truſt, than by
'the conſtant Declarations of his Actions to be quite
'contrary to that Truſt?'

Then the Earl of *Nottingham* ſpoke on the Side of the Lords, and ſaid,——'The main Reaſon of the
'Change of the Word *Deſerted*, is upon the Account
'of the Conſequence drawn in the Concluſion of your
'Vote, *That the Throne is thereby Vacant*: That is,
'what the *Commons* mean by that Expreſſion, whe-
'ther you mean it ſo Vacant as to null the Succeſſion
'in the Hereditary Line, and ſo all the Heirs to be
'cut off, which we ſay will make the Crown *Elec-*
'*tive*? And it may be fit for us to ſettle that Matter
'firſt, and when we know what the Conſequence of
'*The Throne being Vacant* means in the Vote as you un-

1689. ‘derſtand it, I believe we ſhall much better be able ‘to ſettle the Difference about the two Words (2.)

To this it was replied by Serjeant *Maynard*, ‘My ‘Lords, when there is a preſent Defect of one to ‘exerciſe the Adminiſtration of the Government, I ‘do conceive, the declaring a Vacancy, and Proviſion of a Supply for it, can never make the Crown ‘*Elective*.

‘The *Commons* apprehend there is ſuch a Defect ‘now; and by Conſequence a preſent Neceſſity for ‘the Supply of the Government, and that will be ‘next for your Lordſhips Conſideration, and theirs ‘afterwards.

‘If the attempting the utter Deſtruction of the ‘Subject, and Subverſion of the Conſtitution, be not ‘as much an *Abdication* as the attempting of a Father to cut his Son's Throat, I know not what is.

‘My Lords, the Conſtitution, notwithſtanding ‘the Vacancy is the ſame; the Laws that are the ‘Foundations and Rules of that Conſtitution are the ‘ſame; but if there be in any particular Inſtance, ‘a Breach of that Conſtitution, that will be an *Abdication*, and that *Abdication* will infer a Vacancy.

‘It is not that the *Commons* do ſay, *The Crown of* ‘England *is always and perpetually Elective*; but it is ‘moſt neceſſary that there be a Supply, when there ‘is a Defect, and the doing of that would be no Alteration of the *Monarchy* from a *Succeſſive* one to ‘an *Elective*.’

Then the Biſhop of *Ely* on the Side of the Lords ſaid, ‘Gentlemen, — That *Abdicated* may be tacitly by ſome *Overt-Acts*, Mr. *Somers* very truly did ‘alledge out of *Grotius*: But I deſire to know whether *Grotius*, that great Author, in treating on this ‘Subject, doth not interpoſe this Caution, *If there be*

‘*a yielding*

REM. (2.) *It does not appear that the* Commons *had any Thoughts of making the Crown Elective. This was a Conſequence aſcribed to them by the Lords, to have an occaſion to contradict the Vacancy of the Throne.*

'*a yielding to the Times*: *If there be a going away, with* 1689.
'*a purpoſe of ſeeking to recover what is for the preſent*
'*left or forſaken*: In plain *Engliſh*, *if there were any*
'*Thing of Force or juſt Fear in the Caſe, that doth void*
'*the Notion of* Abdication.'

Mr. Serjeant *Maynard* replied, 'But, my Lords,
'that is not any Part of the Caſe declared by the
'*Commons* in this Vote; when the whole Kingdom
'and the *Proteſtant* Religion, our Laws and Liber-
'ties have been in Danger of being ſubverted, an
'Enquiry muſt be made into the Authors and In-
'ſtruments of this Attempt; and if he who had the
'*Adminiſtration* intruſted to him, be found the Au-
'thor and Actor in it, what can that be but a *Renun-*
'*ciation of Truſt*, and conſequently his *Place* thereby
'*Vacant? Abdication*, (under Favour,) is an *Engliſh*
'*Word*; and your Lordſhips have told us, the true
'Signification of it is a *Renunciation*. We have in-
'deed, for your Lordſhips Satisfaction, ſhewn its
'Meaning in foreign Authors; it is more than a *De-*
'*ſerting* the Government, or leaving it with a Pur-
'poſe of Returning.'

The Biſhop of *Ely* replied, 'The Objection of
'the Lords againſt the Word *Abdicated*, is, *That it is*
'*of too large a Signification for the Caſe in Hand*. It
'ſeems to be acknowledged that it reaches a great
'way; and therefore the Lords would have a Word
'made uſe of, which ſignifies only, *The Ceaſure of the*
'*Exerciſe of a Right*. (3.)

The Biſhop added,——'If there be ſuch a Defect
'as hath been ſpoken of, it muſt be ſupplied; there
'is no Queſtion of that.

REM. (3.) *Hitherto the Lords had not clearly diſcovered why they rejected the Word* Abdicated. *We ſee here by what the Biſhop of* Ely *ſays, that it was becauſe this Word expreſſed the* Commons *Meaning too well, and therefore the Lords would have another Word in its ſtead, from which the Vacancy of the Throne could not be inferred.*

'And

1689. 'And I think we have by another Vote, declared, 'That it is *Inconsistent with our Laws, Liberties, and* 'Religion to have a Papist to Rule over this Kingdom: 'Which I take to be only as to the actual Exercise 'and Administration of the Government.

'It is *Grotius* his Distinction between a *Right*, and 'the *Exercise of that Right*; and as there is a natural 'Incapacity for the Exercise, as Sickness, Lunacy, 'Infancy, Doating old Age, or an incurable Dis-'ease, rendering the Party unfit for Human Society, 'as *Leprosy*, or the like; so I take it; there is a 'Moral Incapacity; and that I conceive to be a full 'Irremoveable Perswasion in a false Religion, con-'trary to the Doctrine of Christianity.

'Then there must be a Provision undoubtedly 'made for supplying this Defect in the Exercise, and 'an intermediate Government taken Care for; be-'cause become necessary for the Support of the 'Government, if he to whom the Right of Succession 'doth belong, makes the Exercise of his Govern-'ment unpracticable, and our Obedience to him con-'sistently with the Constitution of our Religion, im-'possible; but that I take it, doth not alter that 'Right, nor is an *Abdication* of that Right. (4.)

'*Abdication* (continued he) no doubt is, by Adop-'tion, an *English* Word, and well known to *English*-'Men conversant in Books. Now it is objected, that 'it is not a Word as antient as the *Common-Law* of '*England*. We find it in *Cicero*, —— where it some-'times signifies, *The Renouncing the actual Exercise of* 'a *Right*, and sometimes, *The Renouncing of the very* 'Right, so that the Signification is doubtful; and 'such

REM. (4.) *We must take notice, that the Bishop of* Ely's *Position, which was afterwards maintained by others, was that* there was a real Distinction between a Right, and the Exercise of that Right. *They readily agreed that* James II, *should be deprived of the Exercise of the Right to Govern, but not of the Right itself. Upon this Distinction all the Arguments of the Lords are grounded.*

1689.

'such Words we hope the *Commons* will not think fit 'to uſe in a Caſe of this Nature and Conſequence as 'ours now in Debate.

'And beſides, the Lords apprehended that great In- 'conveniences will follow upon the Uſe of this Word, 'if it mean a *Renouncing abſolutely of the Right*—

'Then there is another Diſtinction in thoſe Au- 'thors that write concerning this Point, which are 'chiefly the *Civilians*. There may be an *Abdication* 'that may *Forfeit the Power of a King only*; and there 'may be *One*, that may *Forfeit both that and the Crown* 'too. It is a Diſtinction indeed in other Words, 'but to the ſame Senſe: I will tell you preſently why 'I uſe it.

'Thoſe *Abdications* that are of Power only, are *In-* 'capacities; whether thoſe I call Natural and Invo- 'luntary, as Defects of Senſe, Age, or Body, or the 'like; or Moral and Voluntary, as Contrariety in 'Religion; an Inſtance whereof there was lately in '*Portugal*, which was a *Forfeiture only of the Power*, 'and not of the *Name*, and *Honour of a King*; for 'though the *Adminiſtration* was put into the younger 'Brother's *Hand*, the Patents, and other Publick In- 'ſtruments ran in the Elder Brother's Name (5.)

'This is not without all doubt naturally an *Abdi-* 'cation in full Extent of the Word; nor do I here '(as I ſaid) conſider, whether that the King be gone

REM. (5.) *If the Biſhop of* Ely *had only a View to* James II, *the Inſtance of the natural Incapacities which made* Alphonſo VI *King of* Portugal, *forfeit the Exerciſe of the Regal Power, does not ſeem to be to his Purpoſe; ſince theſe ſorts of Incapacities were not the Point in Queſtion, with regard to* James II, *and this may cauſe a Suſpicion that he had the Prince of* Wales *in his Eye. For as we ſhall ſee hereafter, the Lords in maintaining that the Throne was not Vacant, meant that by the Civil or Natural Death of the King, the next Heir was inſtantly to fill the Throne, and this Heir, according to ſome, was the Prince of* Wales. *But as he was a Minor, an intermediate Governour muſt be appointed to govern in his Name.*

'out

1689. ‘ out of the Kingdom, or ſtay in it; but only, whether he be fit for the *Adminiſtration*, which muſt be ‘ Provided for, be he here, or gone away.

‘ But the higheſt Inſtance of an *Abdication*, is, when ‘ a Prince is not only unable to execute his Power, ‘ but acts quite contrary to it; which will not be anſwered by ſo bare a Word as *Endeavour*.

‘ *I take theſe to be all the Diſtinctions of* Abdications.

‘ Now, if this laſt Inſtance of an *Abdication of both Power and Right*, take Place in a Succeeding *Monarchy*, the Conſequence will be, *That there is a Forfeiture of the whole Right*; and then that *Hereditary Succeſſion* is cut off; which, I believe, is not intended by the Commons: There is indeed one Inſtance of the Uſe of ſuch an *Abdication* in *Monarchy*, and that is, that of *Poland*, and ſuch an *Abdication* there, makes the *Throne Vacant*; and thoſe with, and in whom the Power is Inveſted of making Laws, (to wit the Senate) appoint One to fill it: But that, and whatever other Inſtances of the like Kind, theſe may be all of *Elective Kingdoms*; for though ſome of them are, or may be in *Kingdoms* now *Hereditary*, yet they were, in thoſe Times, *Elective*, and ſince altered into *Hereditary Succeſſions*.

‘ But here is one thing that is mentioned in this Vote, which I would have well conſidered, for the Preſervation of the *Succeſſion*, and that is the *Original Compact*: We muſt think ſure that meant of the *Compact*, that was made at the firſt Time, when the Government was firſt Inſtituted, and the Conditions that each Part of the Government ſhould obſerve on their Part, of which this was the moſt Fundamental, *That King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament aſſembled, ſhould have the Power of making New Laws, and altering of Old Ones*: And that being one Law which ſettles the *Succeſſion*, it is as much a Part of the *Original Compact* as any: Then if ſuch a Caſe happens, as an *Abdication* in a *Succeſſive Kingdom*, without Doubt, the *Compact* being made to

'the *King*, his *Heirs*, and *Succeſſors*, the *Diſpoſition of* 1689.
'*the Crown* cannot fall to us, 'till all the *Heirs* do *Ab-*
'*dicate* too.

'There are indeed many Examples, and too ma-
'ny Interruptions in the *Lineal Succeſſion* of the Crown
'of *England*: I think, I can Inſtance in ſeven ſince
'the Conqueſt, wherein the *Right Heir* hath been put
'by: But that doth not follow, that every Breach of
'the firſt *Original Contract*, gives us Power to *Diſpoſe*
'of the *Lineal Succeſſion*; eſpecially, I think, ſince
'the Statutes of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James*
'the Firſt, that have eſtabliſhed the Oath of *Alle-*
'*giance* to the *King*, his *Heirs*, and *Succeſſors*; the
'Law is ſtronger againſt ſuch a *Diſpoſition*: I grant
'that from King *William* the Firſt, to *Henry* the
'Eighth, there has been ſeven Interruptions of the
'*Legal Line of Hereditary Succeſſion*; but, I ſay, thoſe
'Statutes are made ſince that Time, and the ma-
'king of New Laws, being as much a Part of the
'*Original Compact*, as the obſerving Old Ones, or
'any thing elſe, we are obliged to purſue thoſe
'Laws, until altered by the *Legiſlative Power*, which
'ſingly, or joyntly, without the Royal Aſſent, I ſup-
'poſe, we do not pretend to. (6.)

'—— Theſe Laws being made ſince the laſt In-
'terruption, we are not to go by any Precedent that
'was made before the making thoſe Laws.

'So that, all that I conceive, ought to be meant
'by our Vote is, *But the ſetting aſide the Perſon that*
'*broke the Contract: And, in a Succeſſive Kingdom, an*
'Abdication *can only be a Forfeiture, as to the Perſon*
'*himſelf.*

'I hope

REM. (6.) *By this Reaſoning the Lords and Commons being agreed, that a Catholick King could not exerciſe the Right of Government, and* James II, *being* Catholick, *and as he might poſſibly have an infinite Series of Succeſſors from Father to Son, all* Catholicks, *it would follow that* England *might be always governed by none but Regents.*

1689. 'I hope, and am perſwaded, that both Lords and 'Commons do agree in this, *Not to break the Line of* 'Succeſſion: And if that be declared, that this *Abdi-* 'cation of King *James* the Second, reacheth no farther 'than himſelf; and that it is to continue in the *Right* 'Line of Succeſſion, that I hope, will make all of one 'Mind in this important Affair. (7.)

Then the Earl of *Clarendon* ſpoke on the Lords Side, and ſaid, —— 'This *Breaking the original* 'Contract is a Language that hath not been long u- 'ſed in this Place; nor known in any of our Law 'Books or Publick Records; it is ſprung up, but 'as taken from ſome late Authors, and thoſe none of 'the

REM. (7.) *For the better underſtanding the Biſhop of* Ely's *Speech, as well as ſome other of the following ones, it muſt be obſerved that among the Lords who had voted for the Vacancy of the Throne, by a Majority of Eleven Voices, there were two Sorts of Men. The one without any Deſire to favour King* James *or the Prince of* Wales, *had no other View than to oppoſe the* Republican *Party who, under Colour of Gratitude to the Prince of* Orange, *were labouring with all their Power to have him elected King, reckoning it would be a large Step towards advancing the Authority of the People, and rendering the Crown Elective. Some of the Lords voted againſt the Vacancy of the Throne, chiefly in Oppoſition to this Party. But there were others who carried their Views farther, and by rendering the ſettling of the Government impracticable, laboured indirectly, either to cauſe King* James *to be recalled, or the Prince of* Wales *to be acknowledged for King, well knowing it would be impoſſible to prove him to be Suppoſititious in a legal Manner. But as theſe concealed themſelves among the others, and pretended only to ſtand up for Hereditary Right, it is pretty hard to know by the Speeches, who deſigned only to maintain Hereditary Right, and who had farther Views. This the Reader is to keep in Mind that he may not imagine, that all the Lords who voted againſt the Vacancy of the Throne, were Sticklers for King* James.

'the beſt received. And the very Phraſe might bear 1689.
'a great Debate, if that were now to be ſpoken to--
'It is not denied, *That the King is Bounded by Law,*
'*and bound to perform the Laws made, and to be made.*
'But I would take Notice that this Obligation there-
'unto, doth not proceed from his Coronation Oath;
'for our Law ſaith, *He is as much* King *before he is*
'*crowned, as he is afterwards*; *And there is a Natu-*
'*ral Allegiance due to him from the Subjects immedi-*
'*ately upon the Deſcent of the Crown upon him.*

'I was in great Hopes that you would have offered
'ſomething in Anſwer to one of my Lord of *Ely*'s
'Reaſons againſt that Part of the Vote, which de-
'clares, *The Throne to be Vacant*, viz. *That no Act of*
'*the* King's *alone can Bar, or Deſtroy the Right of his*
'*Heir to the Crown, which is Hereditary, and not E-*
'*lective.* (8.)

'—— And then, if this Matter goes no farther
'than King *James* the Second, in his own Perſon;
'How comes the *Vacancy* and the *Supply* to be de-
'volved upon the People? for if he only be ſet a-
'ſide, then it is apparent, where the Crown is to go,
'to the Perſon that hath the next *Right of Succeſ-*
'*ſion*, and conſequently there is no *Vacancy*. (9.)

The

REM. (8.) *The Earl of* Clarendon *begins with repreſenting the Original Contract between King and People, as an imaginary Thing. And yet he owns* the King is bounded by Law, (*though he cites none*) and bound to perform, *&c. But ſays, this Obligation proceeds not from his Coronation-Oath. What is it then that binds him?*

REM. (9.) *The Lords always talked of the next Heir, but without naming the Prince of* Wales. *The Reaſon is, In raiſing as they thought, invincible Obſtacles to the Election of a new King, they deſigned by Degrees to lead the Commons to move the Examination of the Prince of* Wales's *Birth. But the Managers for the Commons carefully avoided that Snare, and therefore the Prince of*

1689. The Earl of *Nottingham* added, —— ‘ The ‘ Lords having declared that they are willing, *to ſecure ‘ the Nation againſt the Return of King* James *into this ‘ Kingdom; and will therefore concur with the Commons ‘ in any Act that ſhall be thought neceſſary to prevent ‘ ſuch his Return*, it ſhould ſeem we were agreed in ‘ that Matter; and if that were the Point, we ſhould ‘ find Words proper ſoon enough to expreſs our ‘ Meaning by. But I find neither of the Words, *Ab- ‘ dicated* or *Deſerted* will, on the one Side or on the ‘ other, be allowed to ſignify this Meaning. There- ‘ fore we ſhould come preſently to think of ſome ‘ other that would. But the Reaſons why my Lords ‘ did chiefly inſiſt upon the Alteration of the Word ‘ *Abdicated*, was, *Becauſe they did apprehend, that it ‘ being a Word not known to our Laws, there might be ‘ other Inferences drawn from it than they do apprehend ‘ our Laws will Warrant, from the Caſe, as it is ſtated ‘ in the Fact of this Vote; and, as they conceive, is ‘ done in the concluding of the Throne's being Vacant.*

‘ Therefore, I think it would ſhorten the preſent ‘ Debate, if we did ſettle the Point of the *Vacancy* ‘ firſt —— For if we were ſure that the Throne were, ‘ or were not Vacant, we ſhould eaſily light upon ‘ what Word were proper to be uſed in this Caſe ”.

Sir *George Treby* ſpeaking on the Side of the *Commons* ſaid, —— ‘ I think, my Lords the preſent ‘ Debate is to begin, where the Difference between ‘ the Two Houſes doth begin, and that is at the ‘ Word *Abdicated*. —— *Original Contract*, is a ‘ Phraſe and Thing uſed by the Learned Mr. *Hooker*, ‘ in his Book of *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, —— But I have ‘ a greater Authority than this, and that is your ‘ Lordſhip's Own, who have agreed to all the Vote, ‘ but this Word *Abdicated*, and the *Vacancy of the ‘ Throne* —— But it is very much beyond what the ‘ Vote before us doth lead us unto, *To talk of the Right*

‘ *of*

Wales *was not ſo much as once mentioned by Name in the whole Conference.*

1689.

'*of thoſe in the Succeſſion:* For that goes further than 'the very laſt Part of our Vote; and it is ſtill to lead 'us yet farther, to ſay any Thing about making the '*Crown Elective*'. —— Then he endeavoured to prove that King *James* had actually *abdicated* the Kingdom, alledging the Authority of *Grotius*, who ſays, *That if there be any Word or Action* that doth *ſufficiently manifeſt the Intention of the Mind and Will, to part with his Office; that will amount to an Abdication or Renouncing.* 'Now (added he) I beg Leave 'to put this Caſe, That had King *James* the Second 'come here into the Aſſembly of Lords and Com-'mons, and expreſſed himſelf in Writing, or Words, 'to this Purpoſe'.

I was born an Heir to the Crown of England, *which is a Government limited by Laws, made in full Parliament, by King, Nobles, and Commonalty; and, upon the Death of my laſt Predeceſſor, I am in Poſſeſſion of the Throne; and, now I find, I cannot make Laws without the Conſent of the Lords and Repreſentatives of the Commons in Parliament; I cannot ſuſpend Laws that have been made, without the Conſent of my People; this indeed is the Title of Kingſhip I hold by* Original Contract, *and the Fundamental Conſtitutions of the Government, and my Succeſſion to, and Poſſeſſion of the Crown, on theſe Terms, is Part of that* Contract; *this Part of the* Contract *I am weary of, I do Renounce it, I will not be obliged to obſerve it; nay, I am under an Obligation not to comply with it; I will not Execute the Laws that have been made; nor ſuffer others to be made, as my People ſhall deſire, for their Security in Religion, Liberty, and Property, which are the two main Parts of the Kingly Office in this Nation.*

'I ſay, ſuppoſe he had ſo expreſt himſelf, doubt-'leſs, this had been a plain *Renouncing of the Legal* '*Regular Title* which came to him by Deſcent: If 'then he, by Particular Acts, ſuch as are enumera-'ted in the Vote, has declared as much, or more

1689. ‘ than these Words can amount to, then he hath ‘ thereby declared his Will to *Renounce the Govern-* ‘ *ment* ——— And this doth amount to a mani- ‘ fest Declaration of his Will, no longer to retain ‘ the Exercise of his Kingly Office according to Law, ‘ he has sufficiently declared his *Renouncing of the* ‘ *very Office*, and therefore I cannot depart from in- ‘ sisting upon the Word *Abdicated*, which doth so ‘ well correspond to the Fact of the Case, and so ‘ well express the true Meaning of the *Commons* in ‘ their Vote ”.

The Earl of *Nottingham* said, ——— ‘ I will not ‘ undertake to dispute whether a King of *England* ‘ may, or may not, renounce his Kingdoms. For my ‘ own Part, I think he can, and I may go so far ‘ in Agreement with those that have spoken to this ‘ Point, *To yield that he may do it by implicit Acts,* ‘ *contrary to the Kingly Office.*

‘ For a *King* to say, He will not govern according ‘ to Law; and for a *King* to act wholly contrary to ‘ Law, and do that which would subvert the Con- ‘ stitution, is (I think) the same thing.

‘ But then I must say also, that I think there is a ‘ Difference between *Saying so*, and *Doing something* ‘ inconsistent with what the Laws require; for every ‘ Deviation from the Law, is a kind of Breach of the ‘ Fundamental Constitutions; as the Laws are neces- ‘ sary, so far as to support the Foundation.

‘ But if every Transgression, or Violation of the ‘ Law, by the Prince's Connivance or Command, ‘ were such a Breach of the Fundamental Laws, as ‘ would infer an *Abdication*, then were it in vain to ‘ call any of his *Ministers* or *Officers* to Account for ‘ any such Action.

‘ Then the Action is the *King*'s, and not *Theirs*; ‘ and then adieu to the Maxim of, *A King's not doing* ‘ *Wrong*: And we may have Recourse to that other ‘ *Respondent Superiour*, as more effectual Satisfaction. ‘ I take this Matter to be so plain, as to the Distinc- ‘ tion that I have mentioned, that nothing can be ‘ more;

'more; and it has been thought ſo eſſentially neceſ- 1689.
'ſary to have it clear and manifeſt, That thoſe Two
'great Inſtances of *Edward* the Second, and *Richard*
'the Second, were expreſs ſolemn Renunciations, and
'thoſe confirmed in Parliament by the *Lords* and
'*Commons*, by the Act of Depoſing them.

'Therefore I cannot infer from the Facts enume-
'rated in the Vote, That this ſhould be an *Abdica-*
'*tion* for himſelf and his Heirs'.

Sir *George Treby* replied--- 'When a King breaks the
'Law in ſome few particular Inſtances, it may be ſuf-
'ficient to take an Account of it from thoſe evil Mini-
'ſters that were inſtrumental in it, why ſuch a Thing
'was done, which was againſt Laws? Why ſuch a
'Law was not Executed by them, whoſe Duty it
'was to ſee it put in Execution? You may, in or-
'dinary Caſes of Breaking the Law, have Remedy
'in the Ordinary Courts and Courſe of Juſtice. But
'ſure! He does not take this to be ſuch a Caſe, or
'theſe to be ordinary Violations of the Law: And
'therefore in the extraordinary Caſes, the extraordi-
'nary Remedy is to be recurred unto. And where
'ſhall any Man come to have any Redreſs in ſuch a
'Caſe as this, when the Malefactor comes to be Par-
'ty, unto whom all Applications for Relief and Re-
'dreſs from Injuries ſhould be made, and ſo he
'himſelf ſhall be a Judge of his own Breaches of
'Law. This moſt apparently was the Caſe as to the
'*Quo Warranto's*, which was a plain Deſign to ſub-
'vert the Conſtitution in the very Foundation of the
'Legiſlature.

'It is becauſe the King hath violated the Conſtitu-
'tion, by which the Law ſtands, as the Rule both of
'the Kingly Government, and the Peoples Obedi-
'ence, that we ſay, he hath *Abdicated* and *Renoun-*
'*ced* the Government; for all other particular Brea-
'ches of the Law, the Subject may have Remedy in
'the ordinary Courts of Juſtice, or the extraordinary
'Court of Parliamentary Proceedings: But where
'ſuch an Attempt as this is made on the Eſſence of

1689. 'the Constitution, it is not We that have brought 'our selves into this State of Nature, but those who 'have reduced our Legal well-established Frame of 'Government into such a State of Confusion, as we 'are now seeking a Redress unto'.

The Lords objecting nothing farther against the Use of the Word *Abdicated*, the *Commons* proceeded to the second Amendment; namely, the Leaving out the Words, *And that the Throne is thereby vacant.* Mr. *Sacheverel* opened the Debate, and said, ——— 'My 'Lords, the *Commons*, in using the Words *Abdication* 'and *Vacancy* had no Thoughts of making the King-'dom Elective, neither can any such Thing be de-'duced from their Words (10.)'.

Mr. *Sacheverel* continued, 'The Commons 'Reason for their Disagreeing to this Amendment, 'was because they conceive (that as they may well 'infer)

REM. (10.) *As the principal Reason which induced the Lords to be against the Commons Vote was, the Consequence drawn from thence, that thereby the Crown would become Elective, the Commons were very careful to deny this Consequence, saying That not only they had no such Thought, but that it follows not from their Vote. This was a material Point. For if the Lords could have drawn the Commons to own that the Consequence was just, they would have pretended that by declaring the Throne vacant, the Constitution was subverted, and the Crown made* Elective *instead of* Hereditary. *It seems that the Commons might have denied that the Crown was originally Hereditary, and maintained it was so only by the Statutes made in the Reigns of* Elizabeth *and* James I. *From whence they might have inferred, that the Parliament which settled the Crown upon the Descendants of* James I, *in the Right, and afterwards in the Collateral Line, had likewise Power to alter the Order of the Settlement. But they avoided entering into any Discussions of this Nature, being sensible that the Design of the Lords was to multiply the Subjects of Dispute, in order to increase the Obstacles of the projected Establishment.*

'infer) from ſo much of their own Vote, as your 1689.
'Lordſhips have agreed unto, *That King* James *the*
'*Second hath Abdicated the Government*; *and that the*
'*Throne is thereby Vacant*: So, if they ſhould admit
'your Lordſhip's Amendments, *That he hath only*
'*Deſerted the Government*; yet, even thence would
'follow, *It is Vacant, as to King* James *the Second*:
'Deſerting the Government being, in true Con-
'ſtruction, *Deſerting the Throne* — If King *James*
'had only given over the Exerciſe of the Govern-
'ment, [as their Lordſhips pretended] he continues
'in the Office and is King ſtill; and then all the
'Acts that we have done in this *Convention*, are
'wholly (as we conceive) not juſtifiable, you are
'in no Place or Station to relieve your ſelves, or the
'Nation, in this Exigence; unleſs you will think
'of ſetting up another Regency by your own Au-
'thority, without his Conſent; which, I conceive,
'by the Laws of *England*, you cannot do. What
'then follows upon all we have done? We have
'drawn the Nation into a Snare, by the Steps we
'have taken; and leave all in ſuch an Intricacy, as
'we have no Power by Law to deliver them out of;
'nor can we anſwer for what we have done, unleſs
'the King ſhould die, and that would leave the Suc-
'ceſſion uncertain'.

Mr. *Pollexfen* purſuing the ſame Argument, main-
tained, 'That the Lords ſaying in their Vote, *That*
'*the Government was Deſerted*, could not mean only
'the *Exerciſe* of it, but a *Vacancy*: The King's Pow-
'er, and the Exerciſe of that Power, was, in Con-
'ſtruction of the Law one and the ſame, and ſo
'joined, that they could not be ſevered; and there-
'fore the ſuppoſed Diſtinction was only notional,
'and altogether diſagreeing to the Laws of *England*.
'That it was utterly unlawful, and as great a Crime
'to take away from the King the Exerciſe of the
'Government, as to take from him the Government;
'it might do well for their Lordſhips to conſider,
'whether they were not guilty of the ſame Crime,

1689. ‘ which they would decline by their Amendment.
‘ That the Commons therefore could not admit,
‘ That there ſhould be a taking away the Exerciſe
‘ of the Government from the King, any more than
‘ the taking away the Government, which, the Com-
‘ mons ſaid, he had himſelf given away by *Abdica-*
‘ *tion*; and that if King *James* was King ſtill, they
‘ could not by any Means agree to the keeping him
‘ out of the Kingdom. That to have a *Regency* up-
‘ on King *James* without his own Conſent, or till
‘ his Return, while the Right was ſtill in him, would
‘ be a ſtrange and impracticable Thing, and intro-
‘ ductive of a Commonwealth, inſtead of the antient
‘ Government by a limited Monarchy; and that the
‘ Concluſion, *That ſuch a Vacancy in the Throne* would
‘ *make the Crown Elective*, had no Premiſſes either
‘ from their Actions, their Sayings, their Votes, or
‘ any thing elſe in that Caſe (11.)

The Earl of *Clarendon* interpoſed, and ſaid, ‘ He
‘ would not declare his Opinion about the *Vacancy*
‘ as to King *James*, but deſired to know the Mean-
‘ ing of the Commons, how far the *Vacancy* was to
‘ extend?’ This gave Occaſion to Mr. *Pollexfen* to
ask the Lords, ‘ Whether their Lordſhips did agree,
‘ *That the Throne was vacant as to King* James *the Se-*
‘ *cond?*

REM. (11.) *The Lords returned but a weak Anſwer to Mr.* Pollexfen's *Reaſons. Several of thoſe who were againſt a Vacancy verily believed, it was as unlawful to deprive King* James *of the Exerciſe of the Regal Power as of the Power itſelf. But they durſt not take upon them to ſpeak directly in his Defence, becauſe they knew his Perſon was odious to the whole Nation. Wherefore they had deviſed this Diſtinction between a Right and the Exerciſe of that Right, that they might leave Room for his Reſtoration. Mr.* Pollexfen, *as we ſee here, maintains that this Diſtinction is all imaginary. Let the Reader examine, whether it was well proved, or only ſuppoſed; or whether, in Suppoſition of its Reality, it was applicable to the Point in Hand.*

'cond? That if ſo, or if they ſhould ſay it was full 1689
'of any body elſe, and would name whom it was
'full of, it would then be time for the Commons to
'give an Anſwer?' To which the ſame Earl replied, 'That admitting for Diſcourſe ſake, That
'the Throne was Vacant as to King *James* the Second, it muſt then be ſupplied by thoſe that ſhould
'have come if he were dead; this Government being by all our Laws an Hereditary Monarchy,
'which is to go in Succeſſion by Inheritance in the
'Royal Line. That if the Commons ſaid this Government was *Vacant*, that would be to put all
'thoſe by, that ſhould take it by Succeſſion, which
'would make the Kingdom *Elective* for that time:
'That the Lords ſaid there was no *Vacancy*; but ſince
'the Commons ſaid, *The Throne was Vacant*, he
'might very well ask, Who had the Right of filling
'up that *Vacancy?*' Mr. Serjeant *Maynard* anſwered,
'That was not the Queſtion before them, though it
'would come properly in Debate, when they were
'agreed upon the *Vacancy*: That he granted the
'*Engliſh* Monarchy to be *Hereditary*; but though it
'ſhould in an ordinary Way deſcend to the Heir,
'yet as their Caſe was, they had a Maxim in Law as
'certain as any other, which ſtopt the Courſe; for,
'ſaid he, no Man can pretend to be King *James*'s
'Heir while he is living: *Nemo eſt Heres Viventis.*' (12)
The Earl of *Pembroke* replied, 'That to that
'Point the Lord *Clarendon* had given an Anſwer,
'*That it ſhould go to the next Heir in the Line, that*
'*was to take it if the King were dead.* And that as
'they ſhould be underſtood, they ſhould make it a
'Caſe of *Demiſe* of the King's, as the Law calls it;

REM. (12.) *Mr. Serjeant* Maynard *ſeems to have juſtly remarked, that it was proper to agree upon the Vacancy before they proceeded to the Queſtion,* Who ſhould fill the Throne? *Otherwiſe the Conſequence would be examined before the Premiſſes were ſettled on which it was founded.*

1688. ‘ that is, That the King was *dead in Law*, by his *Abdi-*
‘ *cation* or *Deſertion*. That to anſwer the Queſtion of the
‘ Commons, *Who the Throne was full of?* It was ſuf-
‘ ficient to know, that there were Heirs who were
‘ to take by *Lineal Succeſſion*, though they did not,
‘ nor could not, poſitively name the particular Per-
‘ ſon ’. (13.)

The Earl of *Nottingham* argued, ‘ That if the
‘ Lords ſhould grant a Vacancy as to the King him-
‘ ſelf, yet they might juſtly do thoſe Acts mentioned
‘ in the Commons Reaſons ; for if barely the *Exer-*
‘ *ciſe* of the Government were *Deſerted*, there muſt
‘ be a Supply of that *Exerciſe* in ſome Perſon’s taking
‘ the Adminiſtration ; and as none ſo fit, becauſe
‘ of the Prince’s Relation to the Crown, and in his
‘ Preſence here, to Addreſs unto about it, ſo none
‘ ſo proper to make that Addreſs as the Lords ; ſince
‘ in the Abſence of the King, they were the King
‘ and Kingdom’s *Great Council*, and might have done
‘ by themſelves without the Commons ; but being
‘ met in a full *Repreſentative Body*, they joined with
‘ them. (14.)

‘ They

REM. (13.) *If the Lords had gained this Point, that in caſe the Throne were Vacant with regard to the Perſon of King* James *only, it ſhould be filled by the next Heir, they would have thereby engaged the* Commons *in a Diſcuſſion of the Prince of* Wales’s *Birth, which would have given them great Advantage. But the* Commons *deſired, above all things, to avoid this Examination which the Lords would have artfully drawn them into.*

REM. (14.) *This concerns only the Vindication of the Lords Conduct, which had been a little cenſured by Mr.* Sacheverel *and Mr.* Pollexfen. *This Vindication is wholly founded upon the Diſtinction between a Right and the Exerciſe of that Right, which the Earl of* Notting-ham *ſuppoſes, without undertaking to prove it.*

'They were told, *That the next Heir in Succeſſion* 1689.
'*could not take it, becauſe no one could be Heir to one*
'*alive*; yet ſtill he thought the Anſwer given by the
'Lords a very good one, *That though the King was*
'*not dead Naturally, yet if*, as they inferred, *he was*
'*ſo Civilly*, the next of Courſe ought to come in by
'*Hereditary Succeſſion*; for he knew not any Diſtinc-
'tion between Succeſſors in the Caſe of a *Natural*
'Death, and thoſe in Caſe of a *Civil* one: That
'he would know, if the next Heir ſhould be ſet
'aſide, and another put in, Whether that King of
'*England* ſhould be King *to him and his Heirs*, and ſo
'being once upon the Throne, the antient *Lineal*
'*Succeſſion* be altered, which indeed would ſufficiently
'make the Kingdom *Elective*, by taking it from the
'right Heir? That if it was not ſo, then he asked,
'Whether ſuch King as ſhould be put in, ſhould be
'King only during King *James*'s Life? That, he
'ſuppoſed, was not the Meaning of the Commons:
'but at leaſt, he muſt be made a King during his
'own Life; that, then if there was a Diſtinction
'made as to the Succeſſion, between a *Natural* and
'a *Civil* Death, if King *James* ſhould die during the
'Life of the new King, what would become of the
'*Hereditary Monarchy?* Where muſt the Succeſſor
'come in, when the next Heir to King *James* might
'not be the preſent Heir to the preſent Succeſſor?
'That therefore they muſt reduce all to this Point,
'Whether this would not make the Kingdom *Elec-*
'*tive?* That if they made it once *Elective*, it was
'enough to make it ever ſo; for he would be bold
'to ſay, They could not make a ſtronger Tie to ob-
'ſerve that kind of Succeſſion, than what lay upon
'them to preſerve it in this Caſe. He added, That
'if the Throne was Vacant, he would know whether
'they were obliged to fill it? That if they were,
'they muſt fill it either by the old Laws, or by the
'Humour of thoſe who were to chuſe. That if
'they filled it by the old Laws, they declared it
'was an *Hereditary Kingdom*, and they were to take
'the

1689. 'the next *Succeſſor*, to whom the Succeſſion would 'belong, and there would be no need of ſtanding 'upon a Vacancy: That if they were to fill it ac-'cording to the Humour of the Times, that di-'verted the Courſe of Inheritance; and that he could 'not ſee by what Authority they could do that, or 'change the antient Conſtitution, *without committing 'the ſame Fault they had laid upon the King.* But, 'ſaid he, if you pleaſe to ſuppoſe the Throne '*Vacant* as to King *James*, that is, *That he 'has no Right*, then let us go on to the next 'Step'. (15.)

But

REM. (15.) *The Earl of* Nottingham *enumerates here all the Inconveniencies, Difficulties, and Contrarieties to the Law which could ariſe from the Commons Vote, and all ended in the Danger of rendring the Crown Elective. But he took care not to mention the Difficulties which flowed from the Lords Opinion. The Conſequences of their Opinion were, either that the Kingdom ſhould be left in its preſent Confuſion, or King* James *recalled, or the Prince of* Wales *acknowledged for King. In all theſe three Caſes, the Danger was not leſs great, than in running the Hazard of making the Crown Elective, which was the only Danger the Earl would have to be conſidered. As if the Danger of Leaving the Kingdom in Confuſion, of Recalling the King, of Owning for King a Prince who was by moſt People thought ſuppoſititious, who was abſent and a Minor, who would be bred in* France *in the Catholick Religion, and from whom the ſame Inconveniencies as had cauſed King* James *to be rejected, were to be feared when he ſhould be of Age: As if, I ſay, all theſe Dangers were to be reckoned as nothing in compariſon of the Hazard of a Breach in the Lineal Succeſſion. Beſides, it was only by way of Conſequence that the Lords pretended that the Crown would become Elective by this ſame Breach, though the Commons affirmed they had no ſuch Thought.*

But Mr. *Sacheverel* replied, 'That all their Busi- 1689.
'neſs was to maintain, That *the Throne was Vacant*'. And Mr. *Somers* added, 'That the Lords alledged 'as a Reaſon againſt the Word *Abdicate*, That *it was* '*not a Word known to our Laws*, but that the Word '*Vacant* could not have that Objection made to it, 'ſince it was in our Records, and even applied in a 'parallel Caſe to this in the firſt of *Henry the Fourth*'. To which the Earl of *Rocheſter* anſwered, 'That as 'that was the only Precedent for the Word *Vacant*, 'yet it was attended with this very Conſequence, that 'it would make the Monarchy *Elective*; for it being 'there declared, *That the Royal Seat was Vacant*, im-'mediately did follow an *Election* of *Henry the Fourth*, 'who was not next in the Royal Line'. The ſame Argument was purſued by the Earl of *Clarendon*, who ſaid, 'That it was plain in the Caſe of *Richard the* '*Second*, who had abſolutely *Reſigned*, *Renounced*, or '*Abdicated* in Writing under his own Hand; that af-'ter that, the Parliament being ſitting, they did not 'think that ſufficient to go upon, becauſe that Writing 'might be the Effect of Fear, and not voluntary: 'That thereupon they proceeded to a formal *Depo-'ſition* upon *Articles*; and then came in the Claim 'of *Henry the Fourth*: That this was undoubtedly an '*Election*; though he was really the next Heir, the 'Earl of *March* not appearing, *Henry* claimed it as 'his undubitable Right, being the next Heir that 'appeared: That all the Kings that were thus taken 'in or elected, (for the *Election* was not of God's 'Approbation) any one Year ſcarce paſſed in any 'of their Reigns, without being diſturbed in the 'Poſſeſſion: That *Henry the Fourth* did not care to 'owe the Crown to the *Election*, but claimed it as 'his *Right*; that it was a plauſible Pretence, and 'kept him and his Son upon the Throne; but in the 'time of his Grandſon *Henry the Sixth*, there was an 'utter Overthrow of his Title and Poſſeſſion too: 'For in the firſt of *Henry the Fourth*, all the Pro-'ceedings againſt *Richard the Second*, as well as all

1689. 'the reſt of the Acts during the *Uſurpation*, (as that 'Record rightly calls it) were *Annulled*, *Repealed*, '*Revoked* and *Reverſed*, and all imaginable Words 'uſed to ſet thoſe Proceedings aſide, as *Illegal*, *Un-*'*juſt* and *Unrighteous:* That that Act deduced the 'Pedigree of the Royal Line from *Henry the Third* 'to *Richard the Second*, who died without Iſſue; and 'then *Henry the Fourth*, ſays the Act, *uſurped*; but 'that the Earl of *March*, upon the Death of *Richard* '*the Second*, and conſequently *Edward the Fourth*, 'from him was undoubted King by *Conſcience*, by '*Nature*, by *Cuſtom*, and by *Law*'. (16)

Hereupon Sir *Robert Howard* exerted himſelf, and replied, 'He would not ſay that the Record of *Henry* '*the Fourth* was not a Precedent of *Election*; for the 'Parliament did not much mind his Claim, knowing 'that he claimed by Deſcent, where there was a Per-'ſon that had a Title before him: Thus the Com-'mons did not doubt but that Power which brought 'in another Line then, upon the *Vacancy* of the 'Throne by the *Leaſion* of *Richard the Second*, was 'ſtill, according to the Conſtitution, reſiding in the 'Lords and Commons, and was legally ſufficient to 'ſupply the preſent *Vacancy*: That he would 'ask the Queſtion of any Lord there, Whether, 'had there been an Heir to whom the Crown 'had quietly deſcended in the Line of Succeſſion, 'and this Heir certainly known, their Lordſhips 'would have aſſembled without his Calling, or would 'have either adminiſtred the Government them-'ſelves, or adviſed the Prince of *Orange* to have taken 'it

REM. (16.) *All the Arguments taken from the Acts of Parliament with regard to the Differences between the Houſes of* Lancaſter *and* York, *muſt needs be very weak. Becauſe theſe Parliaments did not all proceed upon the ſame Principle, and becauſe the one pulled down what the other ſet up. This evidently appears, in that both Sides in the preſent Caſe, made uſe of ſome of the Acts of theſe Parliaments, in ſupport of their Cauſe.*

'it upon himſelf? That he doubted they had been 1689.
'all guilty of High-Treaſon by the Laws of *Eng-*
'*land*, if a known Succeſſor of the Throne were in
'Poſſeſſion of the Throne, as he muſt be if the
'Throne were not *Vacant*: That from hence their
'Lordſhips ſaw, that the Difficulty in this Matter
'aroſe from this, That they would all agree the
'Throne to be *Vacant*, when they knew of none that
'poſſeſſed it; that ſome ſuch thing had been pre-
'tended to as an *Heir-Male*, of which there were *dif-*
'*ferent Opinions*, and in the mean time they were
'without a Government. Muſt we ſtay, added he,
'till the Truth of the Matter be found out? What
'ſhall be done to preſerve our Conſtitution, while
'we are without a ſafe and legal Authority, to act
'under the ſame according to our Conſtitution, and
'in a little time it will, perhaps, through the Diſ-
'traction of our Conſtitution, be utterly irremedia-
'ble. He confeſſed it would be a difficult thing to
'go upon the Examination who was Heir, or elſe
'their Lordſhips would have explained themſelves
'before. But, continued he, it not being clear,
'muſt we always remain thus? Uſe what Words you
'will, *Fill up*, or *Nominate*, or *Elect*, it is the thing
'that we are to take care of, and it is high time it
'was done. There is no ſuch Conſequence to be
'drawn from this *Vote*, as an Intention or Likelihood
'of altering the Courſe of the Government, ſo as to
'make it *Elective*; the Throne has all along deſcend-
'ed in an Hereditary Succeſſion, the main Conſti-
'tution has been preſerved. The Precedent of
'*Henry the Fourth* is not like that of Elections in
'other Countries; and I am ſorry there ſhould be
'any occaſion for what is neceſſary to be done now;
'but when ſuch Difficulties are upon the Nation, that
'we cannot extricate our ſelves out of, as to the *Li-*
'*neal Succeſſor*, your Lordſhips, I hope, will give
'us leave to remember, *Salus Populi eſt Suprema Lex.*
'And if neither you nor we can do any thing in this
'Caſe, we, who are met under the Notion of a *Con-*

1689. ‘ *vention of the States*, have then met to no purpoſe; ‘ for after we have voted our ſelves *to be without Go-* ‘ *vernment* (which looks as if ſomething were really ‘ intended as a Settlement) all preſently ſinks, and ‘ we are as much in the dark as we were before. ‘ Your Lordſhips ſay, you will never make a ‘ Preſident of *Election*, or take upon you to ‘ alter the Succeſſion. With your Lordſhip's Fa- ‘ vour the Settlement of the Conſtitution is the main ‘ thing we are to look after. If you provide for the ‘ Supply of the Defect there, that Point of the *Suc-* ‘ *ceſſion* will, without all Queſtion, in the ſame Me- ‘ thod, and at the ſame time, be ſurely provided for. ‘ But, my Lords, have not you your ſelves limited ‘ the very Succeſſion, and cut off ſome that might ‘ have a Lineal Right? Have you not concurred ‘ with us in our Vote, *That it is inconſiſtent with our* ‘ *Religion and Laws to have a* Papiſt *to Reign over us?* ‘ Muſt we not then come to an *Election*, if the next ‘ Heir be a *Papiſt?* Nay, ſuppoſe there was no *Pro-* ‘ *teſtant* Heir at all to be found, would not your ‘ Lordſhips then break the Line? If your Lordſhips ‘ then in ſuch a Caſe muſt break through the *Suc-* ‘ *ceſſion*, I think the Nation has Reaſon to expect you ‘ ſhould take care to ſupply the preſent Defect, where ‘ the *Succeſſion* is uncertain; or what can we do fur- ‘ ther, but even part in Confuſion, and ſo leave the ‘ Nation to extricate itſelf as well as it can out of its ‘ Diſtraction. But even at whoſe Doors that will ‘ lie, I muſt leave to your Lordſhips own Thoughts'.

It is ſaid this Speech, wherein good Senſe, and a Zeal for the Nation equally ſhined forth, made a deep Impreſſion upon ſome of the Lords who aſſiſted at the Conference, and upon all the reſt of the Audience. Nevertheleſs, as the Earl of *Clarendon* to prove the Lineal Succeſſion, had alledged what paſſed with regard to *Edward* IV, Sir *George Treby* undertook to explain that Matter, and ſaid:

‘ That

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'That it was very well known that *Edward the Fourth* came in Diſaffirmance of the Title of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*: That as thoſe Times went, whenever there was a Turn in Government, as there were ſeveral, there were new and contrary Declarations about the Title to the Crown, made conſtantly in Parliament; and what one Parliament ſettled, another undid: But then, that this Advantage the *Commons* had on their Side; that as they had this firſt Precedent for them, ſo they had the laſt, *viz.* The Parliament-Roll of the firſt of *Henry* the Seventh, where the Record is ſet Right again: That the Act for depoſing *Richard the Second*, was indeed Repealed by the firſt of *Edward the Fourth*, and thereupon it proceeds to Attaint *Henry the Sixth*; but then came in *Henry the Seventh*, in the firſt Year of whoſe Reign there was an Act made, that ſet aſide all the Acts and Attainders made againſt his Line, and Conſequently it repealed the firſt of *Edward the Fourth*, which had repealed the firſt of *Henry the Fourth*: That *Henry the Seventh* was of the Line of *Lancaſter*, and though he had the Heireſs of the Houſe of *York* in his Boſom, yet after he came to the Throne he would not endure to have his Crown reckoned Matrimonal, or ſuffer the Style to go in the Name of *Henry* and *Elizabeth*, as he muſt have done if he had ſtuck to the Title by the right Line of *Succeſſion*. That therefore his Act for Reſtoring the Record of the firſt of *Henry the Fourth* again, was as good an Authority as it was before, and ſomewhat better; for it had the laſt Act on its Side, which was yet unrepealed.'

Here the Earl of *Pembroke* replied, 'That *Henry the Seventh* had a good Right and Title by Marriage to the Crown, *in re Uxoris*; but that his own Title as deſcended from *Henry the Fourth*, was an Uſurpation; and therefore he would not ſuffer any one to preſcribe which was beſt, as long as it was acknowledged he had one good.' Sir *George Treby* returned,

1689. returned, 'That if *Henry the Seventh*'s Title by Descent was an Uſurpation, it was hard to determine what Title he did govern by; ſince though his Wife was the Lineal Heir, yet ſhe had no Part, or ſo much as a Name in the Adminiſtration: But added he, if we ſhould allow none for Acts of Parliament but thoſe that were made in the Reigns of *Hereditary* Kings, and in the *Right Line*, I doubt we ſhould want the greateſt Part of thoſe Laws that compoſe the Volume of Statute-Books, and the Records by which we enjoy a great Part of our Inheritances and Poſſeſſions.' Sir *Richard Temple* alledged, 'That if Laws made about the *Succeſſion* be ſo obliging, what then ſhould they ſay to the *Succeſſion* of Queen *Elizabeth*, who had an Act of Parliament both againſt her and her Siſter.' The Earl of *Pembroke* replied, 'That to ſhew what Opinion ſhe herſelf, and the wiſe Men of her Time had in that Point, there was an Act made in her Reign, and yet in being, which declared it to be a *Præmunire* to affirm, the Parliament cannot ſettle the *Succeſſion* of the Crown, or alter it. That *Entails* of the Crown had been in Parliament both ancient and modern; yet the Authority of another ſubſequent Act had prevailed againſt ſuch an Entail, ſo that *they ſhould be done in Parliament.*' Sir *Richard* returned, 'He thought they were in as full a Capacity to take Care of the Government, as any of their Predeceſſors; and that if they did as their Predeceſſors had done before them, that ought not to be called a Changing of the Monarchy from an *Hereditary* to an *Elective.*'

Here the Earl of *Nottingham* once more interpoſed and ſaid, 'He could not imagine how a Kingdom could be *Hereditary*, and that the King who had Children in being at the Time of his forſaking the Government, could have the Throne *Vacant*, both of him and his Children; that the Courſe of Inheritance, as to the Crown of *England*, was by Law a

'great

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'great deal better provided for, than that of any other Inheritance, *That no Attainder of the Heir of the Crown could barr the Succeſſion to the Crown*, as it did the Deſcent to any common Perſon; and that the very Deſcent by order of Birth would take away any ſuch Defect. That this was the Opinion of the great Lawyers in *England*, in the Caſe of *Henry the Seventh*; and therefore he could not apprehend how any Act of the Father could barr the Right of the Child; ſince even the Act of the Son, which might endanger an Attainder in him, could not do it; ſo careful was the Law of the Royal Line of the *Succeſſion*, which was declared by ſeveral Acts of Parliament, and very fully and particularly by the Twenty-fifth of *Henry the Seventh*. That he deſired to know whether the Lords and *Commons* had Power by themſelves to make a binding Act or Law? And whether according to the Legal Conſtitution, every King of *England* by being ſeated on the Throne, and poſſeſſed of the Crown, was not thereby King to him and his Heirs? And that without an Act of Parliament he knew not what Determination they could make of his Eſtate. That it was urged indeed that the Lords had in Effect already agreed to the *Vacancy* by Voting, *That it was Inconſiſtent with our Religion and Laws to have a Popiſh Prince to Rule over us*: But that a Vote of either Houſe or both Houſes together, could not alter the Law in that or any other Point; yet becauſe he was deſirous that that Vote ſhould have its Effect, he wiſhed that every Thing of that Nature might be done in the ancient uſed Method of Parliament. That ſince they were happily delivered from the Fears of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, God forbid they ſhould aſſume any ſuch Power to themſelves; for what Advantage ſhould they then give to thoſe who would quarrel with their Settlement for the Illegality of it? Would not this, which they endeavoured to cruſh, break forth into a Viper? 'That

1689. 'That in all the Breaches that were made upon the 'Line of Succeſſion, ſuch was the Force of the Laws, 'that the Uſurpers would not take the Crown upon 'them, unleſs they had ſome plain Pretence of an *He-* 'reditary Title to it. That what he would have a- 'voided by all Means, was the miſchievous Conſe- 'quences that he feared would enſue upon the *Vacan-* 'cy of the Throne, namely, the utter Overthrow of 'the whole Conſtitution; for if the Lords and *Com-* 'mons only remained as Parts of the Government, 'and if the Head be taken away, and the *Throne Va-* 'cant, by what Laws or Conſtitutions was it that they 'retained Lords and *Commons*? That they were 'knit together in their common Head; and that if 'one Part of the Government was diſſolved, he ſaw 'not any Reaſon but that all muſt be diſſolved. He 'confeſſed, that any Government was better than 'none; but he earneſtly deſired they might enjoy 'their ancient Conſtitution'. (17.)

The

REM. (17.) *The Earl of* Nottingham *throughout this Speech of his, reaſoned in the ſame manner as* Charles I, *in his Diſputes with the Parliament. That is to ſay, he ſuppoſed the Government in its natural State, and on that Suppoſition, his Arguments were ſtrong. But it is hard to conceive a greater Diſorder than that the Government was in at the Time of the preſent Conference. For three Years Space, King* James *had reigned in an arbitrary manner. He had violated, not ſome particular Laws of little Moment, but Fundamental Laws whereon the Security of the National Religion and Liberties depended. After which, he had withdrawn himſelf out of the Kingdom, without taking any Order about the Government. Moſt Men thought his Son to be ſuppoſititious, which Son he had cauſed to be conveyed into* France. *Could the Government therefore be ſuppoſed in its natural State? And if it was not, the Reaſoning built upon ſuch*

The whole Debate was closed by two short Speeches made by Mr. *Paul Foley*, and Mr. *Ayres*: The former said, 'He hoped there was no Danger of shaking 'of our Fundamentals in this Case; that they were 'pursuing those Methods which agreed with our Laws 'and Constitution; for though the Monarchy of this 'Nation be *Hereditary* in the *Ordinary* Course of Succession, yet there might fall out a *Case* wherein that 'could not be complied with, and a plain *Vacancy* 'might ensue. For said he, put the Case the whole 'Regal Line should fail, should we in *that Case* have 'no Government at all? And who then shall we have 'but Lords and *Commons?* And I think that comes 'neareſt to the Case in Question, where the Successor is not known; for if he had been we should 'have heard of him before now. And what is the 'Reason that it should then in the former Case de- 1689.

such a Supposition ought to fall to the Ground. How express soever the Law may be, some certain Constitution of Government is always supposed. But if this same Constitution is broken, as may happen in all Countries under the Sun, How, in order to remedy this Inconvenience, can the Laws be taken for Rule, which suppose the Government in its usual and natural State, and which have not provided for extraordinary Cases not to be foreseen.

What the Earl of Nottingham *would intimate, though he does not speak out, is briefly this: The Lords and* Commons *are only two of the Branches of the Government, and can make no Law without the Third, that is, the King who is their Head. The King has absented himself. He must therefore be recalled, or waited for till he returns, or else his next Heir must be owned for King. Now this next Heir is the Prince of* Wales. *(This is evident from the Care that was taken not to name him,) Or if none of these Ways be taken, the Kingdom must be left in a State of Anarchy, or a Regent appointed to Govern in the King's Name during his Absence.*

1689. 'volve to the Lords and Commons, but that there is 'no King? And they being the *Repreſentative* Body 'of the Kingdom, are the only *remaining apparent* 'Parts of Government, and are only to ſupply the De-'fect by providing a *Succeſſor?*' The other, Mr. 'Ayres, ſubjoined, 'That they were led out of the 'Way, hunting after the *Conſequences* of a Vote not 'yet ſettled or agreed unto; That they had made a 'right and apt Concluſion from the Premiſſes, other-'wiſe all the Vote was but Hiſtorical: We declare, 'adds he, *That the late King* James *has broke the* Ori-'ginal Contract, *has violated the Fundamental Laws,* 'and has withdrawn himſelf out of the Kingdom, that 'he has Abdicated *the Government.* What occaſion 'was there for ſuch a *Declaration* as this, if nothing 'were concluded from it? That were only to give 'the Kingdom a compendious Hiſtory of thoſe Miſe-'ries they have too well learned by the feeling them. 'Therefore there was a Neceſſity to make ſome Con-'cluſion; and none ſo natural as this; that we are 'left without a King, That the *Throne is thereby Va-'cant* which it may be as to the Poſſeſſion, and yet 'the Right of *Succeſſion* no ways prejudiced. But 'my Lords, we are come here by the Commands of 'the Houſe of Commons, to debate the Reaſons of 'their Vote, and your *Amendments*, not to diſpute 'what will be the *Conſequences*, which is not at pre-'ſent our Province.' And here ended this famous Conference.

The Prince of Orange *leaves every one at liberty.*

During all theſe grand Debates in the Convention the Prince of *Orange* ſtaid at St. *James*'s, without taking the leaſt Pains to gain any Perſon to his Party. He was never leſs affable, being deſirous to ſhow by his Behaviour, that his Intention was not to deprive any Man of the Liberty to vote as he ſhould think fit. The two Houſes were ſurprized that no Body ſpoke to them in the Prince's behalf. At laſt, finding that an ill Conſtruction might be put upon his Silence,

He declares his Mind to ſome Lords.

Silence, and that it might be inferred he was unwilling to take upon him the Weight of Royalty, he ſent for the Marqueſs of *Halliſax*, the Earls of *Danby*, *Shrewsbury*, and ſome others, and told them : 1689.

" He had been till then Silent, becauſe he would " not ſay or do any Thing that might ſeem in any " ſort to take from any Perſon the full Freedom of " deliberating and voting in Matters of ſuch Impor- " tance : He was reſolved neither to court or " threaten any one. Some were for putting the Go- " vernment in the Hands of a Regent : He would " ſay nothing againſt it, if it was thought the beſt " Mean for ſettling their Affairs : Only he thought " it neceſſary to tell them, that he would not be the " Regent : So that if they continued in that Deſign, " they muſt look out for ſome other Perſon to be " put in that Poſt : He himſelf ſaw what the Conſe- " quences of it were like to prove : So he would not " accept it. Others were for putting the Princeſs " ſingly on the Throne, and that he ſhould reign " by her Courteſy : He ſaid, no Man could Eſteem " a Woman more than he did the Princeſs ; but he " was ſo made, that he could not think of holding " any Thing by Apron-Strings : Nor could he think " it reaſonable to have any Share in the Government, " unleſs it was put in his Perſon, and that for Term " of Life : If they did think it fit to ſettle it other- " wiſe, he would not oppoſe them in it : But he " would go back to *Holland*, and meddle no more " in their Affairs : He aſſured them, that whatſo- " ever others might think of a Crown, it was no " ſuch Thing in his Eyes, but that he could live very " well, and be well pleaſed without it : In the End " he ſaid, he could not reſolve to accept of a Digni- " ty, ſo as to hold it only by the Life of another : " Yet he thought that the Iſſue of Princeſs *Ann* " ſhould be preferred in the Succeſſion, to any If- Burnet, p. 820.

1689. "sue he might have by any other Wife than the "Princess."

The Lords concur to the Commons Vote.

This Declaration being immediately told about by those it was made to, was a great Means to put an end to the Debates in the House of Lords. As for the *Commons*, about two Thirds were for the Prince.

When the Report of the Conference between the two Houses was made to the Lords, there was a very warm Debate, whether they should insist upon the Amendments. During the Debate, it was moved that the Birth of the Prince of *Wales* might be examined into. But this Motion was at length rejected for several Reasons: 1. The Prince of *Wales* was now sent out of *England* to be bred up in *France*, an Enemy both to the Nation and the established Religion. What therefore would such Examination signify? 2. It was impossible for the People of *England* to know whether he was the same Person that had been carried over or not. 3. In case he should dye another might be put in his Room, in such manner that the Nation could not be sure concerning him. 4. The *English* Nation ought not to send into another Country for Witnesses to prove that he was their Prince, much less receive one upon the Testimony of such as were not only Aliens, but ought to be presumed Enemies. 5. It was known that all the Persons who had been the Confidents in that Matter, were conveyed away; so it was impossible to come at them, by whose means only the Truth of that Birth could be found out. It is pretended, that there were some who had deeper Designs in this Matter, and thought it would be a good Security for the Nation to have a dormant Title to the Crown lye as it were neglected, to be a Check upon the succeeding Kings, in Case they should think of treading in King *James*'s Steps *.

Reasons against examining the Prince of Wales *his Birth.*

At

* *Burnet* says, that when this Matter was debated in private, some observed,

At length, after a long Debate, the Majority of the Lords departed from their two Amendments, and agreed with the Vote of the *Commons*, *that King* James *had* abdicated *the Government, and that the Throne was thereby become Vacant.* It is very likely that they who fell off from the Party of the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Clarendon*, and *Rocheſter*, conſidered, that the ſuggeſted Danger of the Crown's becoming Elective, was not to be compared to that which muſt neceſſarily happen, if the Kingdom were left in the preſent Confuſion, or King *James* recalled, or the Prince of *Wales* acknowledged for King. It is ſaid however, that the Scale was turned to this Side, by the Arrival of ſome Lords who were not preſent in the Houſe when the two Amendments were voted: But theſe ſame Lords are not named. It is hardly pobable, that the pretended Arrival of theſe Lords ſhould have been the Occaſion of the Alteration in the Houſe of Peers. There muſt have been a Dozen at leaſt, and all of the ſame Side, which is not very likely. 1689.

This great Step being made, the next Thing in Debate was, who ſhould fill the vacant Throne. The Marqueſs of *Halliſax* moved that the Crown ſhould be given to the Prince of *Orange* alone, and to the two Princeſſes after his Death. But he was not ſeconded *. If we may believe Doctor *Burnet* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, *Bentinck* *1, the Prince's Favourite and Confident, *Debates about filling the Throne*

obſerved, that As King *James* by going about to prove the Truth of the Birth, and doing it ſo defectively, had really made it more ſuſpicious than it was before; ſo, if there was no clear and poſitive Proof made of an Impoſture, the pretending to examine into it, and then the not being able to make it out beyond the Poſſibility of Contradiction, would really give more Credit to the Thing than it then had, and, inſtead of weakning it, would ſtrengthen the Prerenſion of his Birth, *p.* 817.

* *Burnet* ſays many of the Republican Party approved of this: For by it they gained another Point: The People in this Caſe would plainly elect a King, without any Regard to the Order of Succeſſion, *p.* 818.

*1 Afterwards Earl of *Portland*.

1689. ſtrenuouſly ſupported this Motion. The Debate upon this Affair was very long. It was readily agreed, that the Princeſs of *Orange* ſhould be placed on the Throne: But the Queſtion was, whether the Prince ſhould be King of himſelf, or as Husband of the Princeſs. Upon this, Parties began to be formed in both Houſes. Mean while, as the Princeſs was detained in *Holland* by the Froſt during the Eaſt-Winds, and by contrary Winds after the Thaw, the Earl of *Danby* ſent one over to the Princeſs with an Account of the preſent State of the Debate, and to tell her, that if ſhe deſired it, he did not doubt but he ſhould be able to carry it, for ſetting her alone on the Throne. The Princeſs anſwered, She was the Prince's Wife; and would never be other than what ſhe ſhould be in Conjunction with him and under him. Adding, ſhe would take it very ill, if any, under a Pretence of their Care for her, would ſet up a divided Intereſt between her and the Prince. Not content with this, ſhe ſent the Lord *Danby*'s Letter [and her Anſwer,] to the Prince, and thereby broke all the Meaſures of thoſe who wiſhed to create a Miſunderſtanding or Jealouſy between them. The Earl of *Danby* received not the leaſt Mark of Diſpleaſure from the Prince of *Orange* who continued ſtill to employ and truſt him.

The Lord Danby *propoſes to the Princeſs to be Queen alone.*

She refuſes

It is concluded that the Prince and Princeſs ſhould be King and Queen.

At laſt, both Houſes agreed and voted ſeverally, that the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* ſhould be King and Queen of *England*, but that the ſole and full Regal Power ſhould be in the Prince only, in the Name of both. However, this was carried in the Houſe of Lords but by two or three Voices only, and not without a Proteſtation entered againſt it by the contrary Party *.

The

P. 822. * *Burnet* ſays, that things were ſo near an Equality in the Houſe of Lords [120 being preſent] that it was carried by a very ſmall Majority of Two or Three to agree with the *Commons* in voting the *Abdication* and the *Vacancy* of the Throne, and that the Vote by which the Prince and Princeſs were declared to be King and Queen went very hard. *Echard* ſays by Twenty Voices. Sixty-five againſt Forty five.

1689. *The Oath of Allegiance is altered.*

The laſt Debate was, concerning the Oaths that ſhould be taken to the King and Queen. To avoid theſe Cavils that might be made at the Terms, [*rightful and lawful King*] in the uſual Oath, it was thought proper to reduce the Oath to the antient Simplicity of Swearing, *to bear Faith and true Allegiance* to the King and Queen. Hence came this famous Diſtinction of a King *de Facto*, and a King *de Jure*, ſome pretending that they took the Oath to the King and Queen, only as *King and Queen de Facto*, whom they were bound to obey no longer than they continued in quiet Poſſeſſion; but that it was lawful for them to aſſiſt King *James*, if he ſhould come to recover his Crown, as being ſtill their King *de Jure*. This Diſtinction proceeded chiefly from the *Clergy*, who had ſo far entangled themſelves with thoſe ſtrange Conceits of the *Divine Right of* Monarchy, and had ſo engaged themſelves by publickly preaching up *Paſſive-Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*, as an eſſential Doctrine of the Church of *England*, that they did not know how to diſengage themſelves from the Snare they themſelves had laid at a Time when they little thought of being ever caught in it.

Whence the Notion of a King de jure *and a King* de facto.

Arrival of the Princeſs of Orange.

At length, on the 12th of *February*, the Princeſs of *Orange* arrived at *London*, and ſeemed very well pleaſed with what had been reſolved, that the Adminiſtration of the Government ſhould be in the Prince only, in the Name of both. Thus the ſtrict Union between the Prince and Princeſs broke the Meaſures of ſuch as hoped to breed a Miſunderſtanding between them, and thereby have an occaſion to ſerve their old Maſter.

The Convention make a ſolemn Offer of the Crown.

The next Day the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* being ſeated on two large Chairs, under a Canopy of State in the *Banquetting-Houſe*, both Houſes of the *Convention* waited upon them in a full Body, to offer them the Crown. But before they proceeded to this ſolemn Tender, they cauſed the Clerk of the Crown to read the following *Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons aſſembled at* Weſtminſter.

1689.

" WHEREAS the late King *James* the Second, by the Aſſiſtance of divers Evil " Counſellors, Judges and Miniſters employed by " him, did endeavour to ſubvert and Extirpate the " *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Laws* and *Liberties* of " this Kingdom; By Aſſuming and Exerciſing a " Power of Diſpenſing with, and Suſpending of Laws, " and the Execution of Laws, without Conſent of " Parliament: By Committing and Proſecuting divers " worthy Prelates, for humbly Petitioning to be ex- " cuſed from Concurring to the ſaid aſſumed Power: " By iſſuing and cauſing to be Executed, a Com- " miſſion under the Great Seal, for erecting a Court " called, *The Court of Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical* " *Cauſes*: By Levying Money for and to the Uſe of " the Crown, by Pretence of *Prerogative*, for other " Time, and in other Manner, than the ſame was " granted by Parliament: By Raiſing and Keeping a " *Standing Army* within this Kingdom in Time of " Peace, without Conſent of Parliament; and Quar- " tering Soldiers contrary to Law: By cauſing divers " good Subjects, being *Proteſtants*, to be Diſarmed " at the ſame Time, when *Papiſts* were both Armed " and Imployed contrary to Law: By violating the " Freedom of Election of Members to ſerve in Par- " liament: By Proſecutions in the Court of *King's-* " *Bench* for Matters and Cauſes cognizable only in " Parliament; and by divers other Arbitrary and Il- " legal Courſes. And whereas of late Years, Partial, " Corrupt and Unqualified Perſons, have been re- " turned and ſerved on Juries in Tryals, and parti- " cularly divers Jurors in Tryals for *High-Treaſon*, " which were not *Free-Holders*; and exceſſive Bail " hath been required of Perſons committed in Cri- " minal Caſes, to elude the Benefit of the Laws made " for *Liberty* of the Subjects; and Exceſſive Fines " have been impoſed; and illegal and cruel Puniſh- " ments inflicted; and ſeveral Grants and Promiſes " made

" made of Fines and Forfeitures, before any Convic- 1689.
" tion or Judgement againſt the Perſons upon whom
" the ſame were to be levied. All which are utterly
" and directly contrary to the known Laws and Sta-
" tutes, and Freedom of this Realm.

" And whereas the ſaid late King *James* the Se-
" cond, having *Abdicated* the Government, and the
" Throne being thereby *Vacant*, his Highneſs the
" Prince of *Orange* (whom it hath pleaſed Almighty
" God to make the Glorious Inſtrument of Deliv-
" ering this Kingdom from *Popery* and *Arbitrary*
" *Power*) did, (by the Advice of the Lords *Spiri-*
" *tual* and *Temporal*, and divers Principal Perſons of
" the *Commons*) cauſe Letters to be written to the
" Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, being *Proteſtants*,
" and other Letters to the ſeveral *Counties*, *Cities*,
" *Univerſities*, *Boroughs*, and *Cinque-Ports*, for the
" chuſing of ſuch Perſons to repreſent them, as were
" of Right to be ſent to Parliament, to Meet and
" Sit at *Weſtminſter*, upon the 22d Day of *January*
" in this Year 1688, in Order to ſuch an Eſtabliſh-
" ment, as that their *Religion*, *Laws*, and *Liberties*,
" might not again be in Danger of being ſubverted.
" Upon which Letters, Elections having been accor-
" dingly made; and thereupon the Lords *Spiritual*
" and *Temporal*, and *Commons*, purſuant to their ſe-
" veral Letters and Elections, being now Aſſembled
" in a Full and Free *Repreſentative* of this Nation,
" taking into their moſt ſerious Conſideration the
" beſt Means for Attaining the Ends aforeſaid, do in
" the firſt Place (as their Anceſtors in the like Caſe
" have uſually done) for Vindicating and Aſſerting
" their Ancient *Rights* and *Liberties*; declare,

" 1. That the pretended Power of *Suſpending Laws*,
" or Execution of Laws, by Regal Authority, with-
" out Conſent of Parliament, is Illegal.

" 2. That the pretended Power of *Diſpenſing* with
" Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by Regal Au-
" thority,

1689. "thority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of "late, is Illegal.

"3. That the Commission for erecting the late "Court of *Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes*, and "all other Commissions and Courts of the like Na- "ture, are Illegal and Pernicious.

"4. That the *Levying* of Money for or to the Use "of the Crown by Pretence of *Prerogative*, without "Grant of Parliament, for longer Time, or in any "other Manner than the same is or shall be Granted, "is Illegal.

"5. That it is the Right of the Subjects to *Petition* "the King, and all Commitments and Prosecutions for "such Petitioning, are Illegal.

"6. That the Raising or Keeping a *Standing-Army* "within the Kingdom in Time of Peace, unless it be "with Consent of Parliament, is against Law.

"7. That the Subjects, which are *Protestants*, may "have Arms for their Defence suitable to their Con- "dition, and as allowed by Law.

"8. That Elections of Members of Parliament "ought to be *Free*.

"9. That the *Freedom of Speech*, and Debates or "Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be im- "peached or questioned in any Court or Place out of "Parliament.

"10. That *Excessive Bail* ought not to be required, "nor *Excessive Fines* imposed, nor Cruel and Unusual "Punishments inflicted.

"11. That *Jurors* ought to be duly Empannelled "and Returned, and Jurors which pass upon Men in "Tryals of *High-Treason*, ought to be *Free-Holders*.

"12. That all Grants and Promises, of *Fines* and "*Forfeitures* of particular Persons, before Conviction, "are Illegal and Void.

"13. And that for Redress of all Grievances, and "for the Amending, Strengthening and Preserving of "the Laws, *Parliaments* ought to be held frequently.

"And

" And they do Claim, Demand, and Inſiſt upon all 1689.
" and ſingular the Premiſſes, as their undoubted
" *Rights*, and *Liberties*; and no Declarations, Judge-
" ments, Doings, or Proceedings, to the Prejudice of
" the People in any of the ſaid Premiſſes, ought in any
" wiſe to be drawn hereafter into Conſequence or Ex-
" ample. To which Demand of their *Rights*, they are
" particularly encouraged by the *Declaration* of his
" Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, as being the only
" Means for obtaining a full Redreſs and Remedy
" therein.

" Having therefore an entire Confidence, that his
" ſaid Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* will perfect the
" Deliverance ſo far advanced by Him, and will ſtill
" preſerve them from the Violation of their *Rights*,
" which they have here aſſerted, and from all other
" Attempts upon their *Religion*, *Rights*, and *Liberties*;
" the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, Aſſembled at
" *Weſtminſter*, do Reſolve, That *William* and *Mary*,
" Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, be, and be Declared
" KING and QUEEN of *England*, *France*, and
" *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging,
" to hold the *Crown* and *Royal Dignity* of the ſaid
" Kingdoms and Dominions, to them the ſaid Prince
" and Princeſs during their Lives, and the Life of the
" Survivor of them; and that the Sole and Full Ex-
" erciſe of the *Royal Power* be only in, and executed
" by, the ſaid Prince of *Orange*, in the Names of the
" ſaid Prince and Princeſs, during their Joint Lives;
" and after their Deceaſe, the ſaid *Crown* and *Royal*
" *Dignity* of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions to be
" to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid Princeſs;
" and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Princeſs *Anne*
" of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; and for
" Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Heirs of the Body of
" the Prince of *Orange*.

" And the ſaid Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and
" *Commons*, do Pray the ſaid Prince and Princeſs of
" *Orange* to accept the ſame accordingly. And that

" the

1689. " the Oaths hereafter-mentioned, be taken by all Per-
" ſons of whom the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supre-*
" *macy* might be required by Law, inſtead of them;
" and that the ſaid Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supre-*
" *macy* be Abrogated:

" *I*, A. B. *do ſincerely Promiſe and Swear, That I*
" *will be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to their Ma-*
" *jeſties, King* WILLIAM *and Queen* MARY. So
" help me God. *I*, A. B. *do ſwear, That I from my*
" *Heart Abhor, Deteſt, and Abjure, as Impious and*
" *Heretical, this damnable Doctrine and Poſition,* That
" Princes Excommunicated or Deprived by the *Pope*,
" or any Authority of the *See* of *Rome*, may be de-
" poſed or murdered by their Subjects, or any other
" whatſoever. *And I do declare, That no Foreign*
" *Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath,*
" *or ought to have, any Juriſdiction, Power, Superio-*
" *rity, Pre-eminence, or Authority Eccleſiaſtical or Spi-*
" *ritual, within this Realm.* So help me God".

After the Reading of this *Declaration*, the Marqueſs of *Halliſax*, Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, made a ſolemn Tender of the Crown to their Highneſſes, in the Name of both Houſes, whereupon the Prince of *Orange* returned the following Anſwer:

My Lords and Gentlemen, This is certainly the greateſt Proof of the Truſt you have in Us, that can be given, which is the Thing that makes Us value it the more; and We thankfully accept what you have offered. — *And as I had no other Intention in coming hither, than to preſerve your* Religion, Laws, *and* Liberties, *ſo you may be ſure, that I ſhall endeavour to ſupport them, and ſhall be willing to concur in any Thing that ſhall be for the Good of the Kingdom, and to do all that is in my Power to Advance the Welfare and Glory of the Nation.*

All This was followed with the Acclamations of the People, which quickly flew over the whole City. The ſame Day the Prince and Princeſs were proclaimed King and Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, by

by the Names of WILLIAM and MARY, to the inexpreſſible Joy of the People. * 1689.

* King *James* the Second's Natural Iſſue was as follows.

I. By Mrs. *Arabella Churchill*, Siſter of *John* Duke of *Marlborough*, afterwards married to Colonel *Godfrey*, He had (1.) *James Fitz-James*, Grandee of *Spain*, Mareſchal of *France*, Knight of the *Golden Fleece*, commonly called Duke of *Berwick*. Outlawed in 1695. (2.) *Henry Fitz-James*, commonly called the *Grand Prior*, born 1673. Outlawed in 1695. Lieutenant-General and Admiral of the *French* Gallies. He died in *France*, *Dec.* 7, 1702. (3.) *Henrietta*, born 1670, who married *Henry* Lord *Waldgrave*, 1683. Father of *James* the preſent Lord *Waldgrave*, born in 1684.

II. By Mrs. *Catherine Sedley*, Daughter of Sir *Charles Sedley*, Baronet; created Baroneſs of *Darlington*, and Counteſs of *Dorcheſter*, afterwards married to Sir *David Collier*, the late Earl of *Portmore*, He had *Catharine Darnley*, preſent Dutcheſs Dowager of *Buckingham*, born 1681. She married (1.) *James Anneſley*, Earl of *Angleſey*, in *October* 1699. By whom ſhe had *Catharine Anneſley*, *January* 7, 1701, who married *William Phips* Eſq; Son of Sir *Conſtantine Phips*. (2.) *John Sheffield* Duke of *Buckinghamſhire* and *Normanby*; 1 *March* 1705. By whom ſhe had *Edmund*, the preſent Duke of *Buckinghamſhire*, born 11 *Jan.* 1716.

The End of the Reign of JAMES II.

A Short

BRITISH MUSEUM

A Short Summary of the History of *ENGLAND.*

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BOOK

BOOK I.

ADVERTISEMENT.

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Severus

Severus comes over into *Britain*, Page 62
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Martinus

CONSTANTIUS. *Martinus* is made Governour, Page 66
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JULIAN. *Lupicinus* is ſent by the Emperour *Julian* to ſtop the Incurſions of the *Picts* and *Scots*. *ibid.*
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The

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Gerontius the General of *Conſtans* revolts againſt him, and beſieges him in *Venetia* (or *Vienne*) where *Conſtans* is killed, *ibid.*
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Gerontius retires into *Spain*, and is killed there.
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He

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ETHELWULPH.

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HENRY I.

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HENRY II. *Plantagenet.*

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HENRY II.

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RICH. I.

RICHARD I.

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King

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RICH. I.

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JOHN. # *JOHN Lack-land.*

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JOHN. *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln* dies; and paſſes for a Saint, Page 166

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King

JOHN.

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JOHN. Cardinal *Langton* arrives in *England*, and abſolves King *John*, Page 212
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Alexander

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HENRY III. *HENRY* III.

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Lewis besieges *Dover*, but in vain, 273
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Fulk

HENRY III. *Fulk de Brent* rebells, and commits ſeveral Outrages, Page 293
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RICHARD II.

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Leo

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The Duke of *York*, *Richard Nevill* Earl of *Salisbury*, and his Son *Richard Nevill* Earl of *Warwick*, retire from Court, *ibid.*

The Earl of *Warwick* ſeizes upon ſome foreign Ships, and comes to Court to juſtify what he had done, *ib.* & 424

He is aſſaulted there, and narrowly eſcapes. Is ordered to be ſeized, *ibid.*

1459. The Duke of *York* raiſes an Army in *Wales*; whilſt the Earl of *Salisbury* marches with another Army to *London*, 425

The Battle of *Boreheath* in *Shropſhire*, where *James Tuchet* Lord *Audley* is defeated by the Earl of *Salisbury* and ſlain, *ib.* &c.

The Duke of *York* is joined by the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, 426

The King marches againſt them, and offers the Rebels a Pardon: They demand Security, 427

They are deſerted by their Troops, *ibid.*

Henry Beaufort Duke of *Somerſet* is made Governour of *Calais* in the Earl of *Warwick*'s room, *ibid.*

The Duke of *York* flies to *Ireland*, and the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick* to *Calais*, 428

The Duke of *York* and his Adherents are attainted by the Parliament, *ibid.*

The

HENRY VI. The Duke of *Somerset* goes to take Poſſeſſion of his Government of *Calais*, but is repulſed, Page 428

1460. Commiſſions are granted by the Court to *James Butler* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and the Lord *Scales*, to make a ſtrict Inquiſition after the Duke of *York*'s Adherents, and to puniſh them, 429

Kent is alarmed at it, and invites over the Lords at *Calais*, 430

The Lords publiſh a Manifeſto, and arrive in *England*, where their Army ſoon increaſes to 40,000 Men, 431

They are admitted into *London*, *ibid.*

The Queen aſſembles her Forces at *Coventry*, and marches towards *London*. The Lord *Scales* throws himſelf into the *Tower*, *ibid.*

July 19. The Royal Army is defeated at the Battle of *Northampton*, and the King taken Priſoner, 432

The Queen flies to *Durham*, and from thence withdraws into *Wales*, and afterwards into *Scotland*, 433

The King is conducted to *London*, *ibid.*

A Parliament is called, which declares for the Duke of *York*, 434

James II. King of *Scotland* is killed at the Siege of *Roxborough*, *ibid.*

Charles VII King of *France* dies: And is ſucceeded by *Lewis* XI, *ibid.*

The Duke of *York* arrives in *London*, and goes to the Parliament, where he expected to have the Crown offered him, but he is diſappointed, *ibid.*

He ſends the Parliament a Memorial to juſtify his Claim to the Crown, 435

The Parliament decrees that King *Henry* ſhould enjoy the Crown during his Life, and the Duke of *York* be declared his Succeſſor, 437

The Duke conſents to that Decree, *ibid.*

He gets the King to ſend an Order to the Queen to repair to Court: She levies an Army in the North, 438, 439

The Duke of *York* marches againſt her with an Army of 5000 Men only, 439

Richard

HENRY VI. 1460. *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York* is defeated and ſlain at the Battle of *Wakefield*. His Head is ſet on the Walls of *York*, Page 440

Richard Nevill Earl of *Salisbury* is taken Priſoner, and beheaded, 442

Edward Plantagenet Son to the Duke of *York*, and Earl of *March*, reſolves to maintain the Quarrel, *ibid.*

He defeats *Jaſper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke*, 443

The Queen marches towards *London*, *ibid.*

Richard Nevill Earl of *Warwick* goes out to fight her, *ibid.*

Feb. 15. He is defeated at *Bernard's Heath* near St. *Albans*, 444

St. *Albans* is plundered by the Queen's Soldiers, *ibid.*

The Queen ſets the King at Liberty, *ibid.*

She retires into the North, 445

Edward Earl of *March* enters *London*, *ibid.*

Richard Earl of *Warwick* gets *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *March* proclaimed King, under the Name of *Edward* IV, 446

During the Reign of King *Henry*, Printing is brought to *England* by *William Caxton*, 449

Wheat was ſold for Six Shillings and Eight Pence the Quarter, *Rye* for Four Shillings, and *Barley* for Three Shillings, *ibid.*

King *Henry* founded King's College in *Cambridge*, and *Eaton*-College, and Queen *Margaret* began *Queen*'s College in the ſame Univerſity, *ibid.*

Archbiſhop *Kemp* built the Divinity-School at *Oxford*, *ibid.*

King *Henry* IV coined *Rials*, *Half-Rials*, *Groats*, *Pence*, &c. *ibid.*

EDW. IV. *EDWARD* IV.

1461. *EDWARD* IV, a few Days after his being proclaimed, ſets out from *London* to go and fight Queen *Margaret*, Page 2

He

EDW. IV. 1461. March. He gains the Victory at the Battle of *Towton*, where near 37,000 Men are ſlain, Page 5, 6
Thomas Courtney Earl of *Devonſhire* is taken Priſoner, and beheaded, 6
June 8. King *Edward* returns to *London*, 7
He endeavours to cut out work for the *Scots*, to keep them employed, *ibid.*
Is crowned, 11
King *Edward* propoſes a Truce with *Scotland*; but Queen *Margaret* breaks his Meaſures, *ibid.*
The Election of King *Edward* is confirmed by the Parliament, *ibid.*
All the Acts againſt the Houſe of *York* are repealed, 12
George Plantagenet one of the King's Brothers is created Duke of *Clarence*, *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*; *William Nevill* Earl of *Kent*; *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Eſſex*; and *John Nevill* Lord *Montague*, *ibid.*
John de Vere Earl of *Oxford*, and *Aubery* his eldeſt Son are beheaded, *ibid.*
The Duke of *Burgundy* ſends Embaſſadours to King *Edward*, 14
Queen *Margaret* goes to *France* to demand Succours of *Lewis* XI, *ibid.*
1462. King *Edward* makes a Treaty with the Earl of *Roſs*, with a View to ſtir up Troubles in *Scotland*, *ib.*&c.
Pope *Pius* II writes to King *Edward* to congratulate his Acceſſion to the Throne, 16
The Earl of *Kent* is made High-Admiral, *ibid.*
Henry Beaufort Duke of *Somerſet*, and *Ralph Piercy*, throw themſelves upon the King's Mercy, and are pardoned, *ibid.*
The King makes a great Conceſſion to the Clergy, 17
The trading Truce between *England* and the *Low-Countries* is prolonged, *ibid.*
1463. King *Henry* VI, and the Queen his Wife return to *England*, 18
They are defeated, and fly into *Scotland*, 19

Edw. VI. *Henry Beaufort* Duke of *Somerſet*, and ſome others,
1463. are beheaded, Page 19
John Nevill Lord *Mountague* is created Earl of *Northumberland*, and *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, 20
King *Edward* makes Truces with *France*, *Scotland* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, *ibid.*
Henry VI tries to conceal himſelf in *England*, 21
He is taken, and ſent to the *Tower*, *ibid.*
Queen *Margaret* retires, with Prince *Edward* her Son, to *René* of *Anjou* her Father, 22
Edmund Beaufort Duke of *Somerſet*, and *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, fly *incognito* into the *Low-Countries*, *ibid.*
King *Edward* confiſcates the Eſtates of the Rebels, 23
He ſends *Richard* Earl of *Warwick* to demand in Marriage *Bona* of *Savoy* Siſter to the Queen of *France*, *ib.*
1464. *Lewis* XI quarrels with the Duke of *Bretagne* about his Homage, 24
He attacks that Duke, who forms the *League of the Publick Good*, 26
King *Lewis* enters into Negotiations with King *Edward*, *ibid.*
King *Edward* makes a fifteen Years Truce with *Scotland*, 27
Oct. 1. And one of a Year with *Bretagne*, 28
He pardons King *Henry*'s Friends, and orders all his Subjects to take up Arms, 27
1465. *Richard* Earl of *Warwick* concludes the King's Marriage with *Bona* of *Savoy*, 28
King *Edward* marries *Elizabeth Woodville* Widow of Sir *John Grey* of *Groby*, *ibid.*
Feb. The new Queen is crowned, 30
Sir *Richard Woodville* the Queen's Father is made Earl of *Rivers*, 31
The Earl of *Warwick* is highly incenſed with the King for his marrying *Elizabeth Woodville*, *ibid.*
Lewis XI is alſo very angry, but conceals his Reſentment, *ibid.*
The Affairs of *France*. The *War of the publick Good* is undertaken againſt *Lewis* XI, 34

It

EDW. IV. It ends in a Treaty ſigned at *Conflans*, Page 35
1465. The Duke of *Bretagne*, and Earl of *Charolois* Son to the Duke of *Burgundy*, have ſome Negotiations with King *Edward*, 36
Dec. 12. The Truce with *Scotland* is prolonged till 1519, *ib.*
1466. *Elizabeth* the King's eldeſt Daughter is born, *ibid.*
Apr. 30. King *Edward* makes a Truce with *France*, 37
June 7. And with *Bretagne*, *ibid.*
He concludes a Treaty of Friendſhip with the Earl of *Charolois*, the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Son, 38
King *Edward* makes Treaties of perpetual Alliance with *Caſtile* and *Denmark*, 39
1467. *Philip the Good* Duke of *Burgundy*, dies. *Charles* his
July 15. Son ſucceeds him, and ratifies the Treaty with King *Edward*, 40
Richard Woodville Earl of *Rivers* is made Treaſurer and High-Conſtable, 41
The Queen's Relations are in great Credit at Court, whereas the Earl of *Warwick* and his Brother are neglected, *ibid.*
He withdraws from Court, and makes ſure of the Protection of the King of *France*, 41, 42
1468. *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* marries *Margaret* of *York*, King *Edward*'s Siſter, 42
King *Edward* obliges himſelf to ſend the Duke of *Bretagne* Succours, 43
Lewis XI, puts himſelf imprudently in the Power of the Duke of *Burgundy*, 45
The Duke diſcovers his Inſincerity, and makes him Priſoner, *ibid.*
Liege is deſtroyed, 46
King *Edward* makes an Alliance with *Arragon*, and preſents the King with ſome Sheep, *ibid.*
1469. *Richard Nevill* Earl of *Warwick* forms the Project of dethroning the King, and draws his Brothers into the Plot, 47
George Plantagenet Duke of *Clarence*, the King's Brother, engages in the Plot, and marries one of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Daughters, 48

Edw. IV. An Insurrection is raised in *Yorkshire* by the Earl of
1469. *Warwick*'s Friends, Page 49
William Herbert Earl of *Pembroke* is defeated by the Rebels, and beheaded, 50, 51
The *Northamptonshire* Rebels behead *Richard Woodville* Earl of *Rivers*, 52
King *Edward* orders the Lord *Stafford* to be beheaded, *ibid.*
1470. The Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* declare for the Rebels, 53
The two Armies being nigh one another, an Accommodation is set on foot; but during the Negotiations, the King is taken Prisoner by the Earl of *Warwick*, 55
He is committed to the Custody of *George Nevill* Archbishop of *York*, *ibid.*
Makes his Escape, and comes to *London*, *ibid.*
Sir *Robert Wells*, Son of the Lord *Wells*, levies Troops against the King, 56
King *Edward* orders the Lord *Wells*, his Father, to be beheaded, 57
Sir *Robert Wells* is defeated and beheaded, *ibid.*
The Duke of *Clarence* and Earl of *Warwick* retire into *France*, 58
King *Lewis* XI promises them a powerful Aid, 59
Queen *Margaret* is reconciled with them, *ibid.*
Edward Prince of *Wales*, Son of King *Henry* VI, marries the Earl of *Warwick*'s youngest Daughter, 60
King *Edward* gains privately his Brother, the Duke of *Clarence* to his Side, *ibid.*
The Earl of *Warwick* comes to *England*, and gathers together an Army of 60,000 Men, 62
King *Edward* is forced to fly to *Holland*, to the Duke of *Burgundy*, 64
He is like, in his Passage, to be taken by the Pyrates, but is delivered by the Lord *Gruthuyse*, *ibid.*
His Queen takes Sanctuary in *Westminster*-Abbey, 65
The Duke of *Clarence* and Earl of *Warwick* come to *London*, and release King *Henry* VI from his Confinement, *ibid.*

HEN. VI. ## *HENRY* VI *restored.*

1470. *JOHN NEVILL* Marquess of *Mountague* is made President of the North, Page 66
King *Edward* IV is declared by the Parliament a Traytor and an Usurper, 67
The Duke of *Burgundy* is in very great Perplexity with regard to King *Edward*, 69
Edward's Discourse with him, 72
Lewis XI declares War against the Duke of *Burgundy*, *ibid.*
The Duke resolves to assist King *Edward* privately, 73
The Earl of *Warwick* concludes an Alliance with *Lewis* XI, 75
1471. *March.* King *Edward* sets Sail for *England*, *ibid.*
He is coldly received, and takes only the Title of Duke of *York*, 76
Marches to *York*, but is desired by the Magistrates to take another Rout. The People compel the Magistrates to admit him, 78
Sets out for *London*, and is suffered by the Marquess of *Mountague* to pass, 79
The Earl of *Warwick* encamps at *Coventry*, waiting for the Duke of *Clarence* to come and join him, *ib.*
George Plantagenet Duke of *Clarence*, betrays the Earl of *Warwick*, and joins the King his Brother, *ibid.*
They march both to *London* together, and leave the Earl of *Warwick* behind them, 80
King *Edward* is received into *London*, and sends King *Henry* VI back to the *Tower*, *ibid.*

EDW. IV. ## *EDWARD* IV *restored.*

1471. KING *Edward* gets the Victory at the Battle of *Barnet*, where *Richard Nevill* Earl of *Warwick*, surnamed *The King-Maker*, and *John Nevill* his Brother Marquess of *Mountague*, are defeated and slain, 83, 84

Edw. IV. The King returns to *London*, Page 85
1471. *George Nevill* Archbiſhop of *York* is pardoned, *ibid.*
Queen *Margaret* arrives from *France* a few Days after the Battle. She ſwoons at the News of the Defeat, 86
She takes Sanctuary in the Abbey of *Beaulieu* in *Hampſhire*, *ibid.*
Edmund Beaufort Duke of *Somerſet* adviſes her to carry on the War, *ibid.*
The Adherents of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* levy a freſh Army with a great ſpeed, and ſet the Prince of *Wales* at their Head, 88
King *Edward* marches againſt them, 89
He defeats them at the Battle of *Tewksbury*, 91
The Queen, the Prince, and the Duke of *Somerſet* are taken Priſoners, 92
The Prince of *Wales* is murdered in cold Blood, and the Duke of *Somerſet* beheaded, 93
Queen *Margaret* is ſhut up in the *Tower*, *ibid.*
Thomas Nevill, the Baſtard of *Falconbridge*, attempts to ſurprize *London*, 94
He is beheaded, 95
William of Wainfleet Biſhop of *Wincheſter* is pardoned, *ib.*
King *Henry* VI is murdered in the *Tower*, 96
Jaſper Tudor Earl of *Pembroke*, and *Henry Tudor*, his Nephew, Earl of *Richmond* embark for *France*, 97
They are driven on the Coaſt of *Bretagne*, and detained by the Duke, *ib.* & 98
King *Edward* gets the Lords to take the Oath to his Son, 98
The Truce with *Bretagne* is ratified, *ibid.*
1472. King *Edward* enters into Negotiations about the Differences between the *Engliſh* and *Flemings*, and with the *Hanſe*-Towns, 100
John de Vere Earl of *Oxford* revolts. He is taken and ſent Priſoner to *Hammes*, 101
George Nevill Archbiſhop of *York* is alſo ſent Priſoner to *Guiſnes*, and dies, *ibid.*
King *Edward* demands *Henry Tudor* Earl of *Richmond* of the Duke of *Bretagne*, who refuſes to give him up, 103

Lewis

EDW. IV. *Lewis de Bruges* Lord of *Gruthuyse* is made Earl of
1472. *Winchester*, Page 103
State of Affairs between *Lewis* XI and the Duke of *Burgundy*, *ibid.*
1473. Sep. 19. The Differences between *England* and the *Hanse*-Towns are decided, 106
King *Edward* hath some private Negotiations with the Duke of *Burgundy*, *ibid.*
The Alliance between *England* and *Denmark* is renewed, *ibid.*
1474. King *Edward* enters into Treaties with the Duke of *Burgundy* against *Lewis* XI, 108, 109
He prepares for War, and makes Alliance with several Princes, 111
A Marriage is concluded between *Cicely* his second Daughter, and the King of *Scotland*'s eldest Son, *ib.*
1475. King *Edward* raises Money by way of Benevolence, 112
He passes over into *France* with a numerous Army, and declares War against *Lewis* XI, 113, 114
The Duke of *Burgundy* neglects to come and join him, 114
Aug. 29. King *Edward* makes a Peace with *France*, 118, &c.
A Conference is held between the Kings of *France* and *England* at *Pequigny*, 120
The Duke of *Burgundy* falls out with King *Edward*, and accepts of a Truce from *France*. The Constable of St. *Paul* is beheaded, 119, 121, 122
King *Edward* demands a second time the Earl of *Richmond* from the Duke of *Bretagne*, who gives him up to his Embassadours, 122, 123
The Duke repents of it, and gets the Earl out of their Hands, *ibid.*
Charles Duke of *Burgundy* is defeated at *Granson* and *Morat*, 125
1477. Jan. 5. He is routed and slain at the Battle of *Nancy*, 126
Lewis XI takes from *Maria* Dutchess of *Burgundy* part of her Dominions; King *Edward* refuses to assist her, 127, 128
Maria espouses *Maximilian* Archduke of *Austria*, 128

Edw. IV. 1478. King *Edward* cauſes his Brother *George Plantagenet* Duke of *Clarence*, to be ſuffocated in a Butt of *Malmſey*-Wine, Page 129---132

He creates his eldeſt Son *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, and his ſecond Son *Richard* Duke of *York*, 133

Suffers himſelf to be impoſed upon, and amuſed by *Lewis* XI King of *France*, 134

Lewis ſhifts off the Marriage of the *Dauphin* with *Elizabeth* King *Edward*'s eldeſt Daughter, *ibid.*

1479. King *Edward* gives himſelf up to Pleaſures, 135

He extorts Money from his Subjects by illegal Means, *ibid.*

A Treaty is concluded between King *Edward* and *Lewis* XI, whereby the latter binds himſelf and his Succeſſors, to pay to the King of *England* 50,000 Crowns every Year, for a hundred Years, *ibid.*

Lewis continues to amuſe King *Edward*, 137

He ſtirs up *James* III King of *Scotland* againſt him, *ibid.*

1480. King *Edward* begins to open his Eyes, and prepares for War, 138

He concludes the Marriage of *Ann* his third Daughter with *Philip* Earl of *Charolois* Son of *Maximilian* and *Maria*, *ibid.*

Sends out a Fleet to aſſiſt Archduke *Maximilian*, 139

1481. King *Edward* makes War with *Scotland*, 140

James III King of *Scotland* makes an Irruption into *England*, *ibid.*

1482. The Duke of *Albany* makes a Treaty with King *Edward*, 141

Richard Plantagenet Duke of *Glouceſter*, marches with an Army into *Scotland*, and takes *Berwick*, 142

James III is forſaken by his Subjects: A Peace is concluded between *England* and *Scotland*, 144

King *James* attempts to diſpatch out of the way his Brother the Duke of *Albany*, who renews a Treaty with King *Edward*, 145

1483. *Maria* Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* dies *March* 1481, *ibid.*

EDW. IV. 1483. A Marriage is concluded between *Margaret* her Daughter, and the Dauphin, Page 146
King *Edward* prepares for War against *France*, 147
April 9. He dies, *ibid.*
In his Reign flouriſh *Thomas Littleton*, and *John Forteſcue*, both famous Judges, 152
Thomas Par born in 1483, *ibid.*

EDW. V. *EDWARD* V.

Edward V, Son of *Edward* IV, is proclaimed King, 153
Richard Plantagenet Duke of *Glouceſter*, takes Meaſures to get the Adminiſtration of Affairs into his Hands, during the Minority of *Edward* V, his Nephew, 160
He becomes Maſter of the King's Perſon, and ſends the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, with ſome others, Priſoner to *Pontfract*-Caſtle, 165
The Queen takes Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter*-Abbey, *ib.*
King *Edward* V is brought to *London*, 167
A Tumult ariſes at *London*, and is appeaſed by the Lord *Haſtings*, 167
Richard Duke of *Glouceſter* gets himſelf declared Protector, 168
He takes the Great-Seal from *Thomas Rotheram* Archbiſhop of *York*, and gives it to *John Ruſſel* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, 169
Gets in a very artful manner, *Richard* Duke of *York*, the King's Brother, out of the Queen's Hands, 170----174
Lodges them both in the Tower, 174
Henry Stafford Duke of *Buckingham* comes into the Duke of *York*'s Meaſures, *ibid.*
The Priſoners of *Pontfract* are beheaded, 176
Richard Duke of *Glouceſter* ſpreads a Report that the King and his Brother were Baſtards, *ibid.*

He

EDW. V. 1483. He tries to gain the Lord *Haſtings* to his Side, and being able to ſucceed, cauſes him to be arreſted under a falſe Pretence, and beheaded, 179

Thomas Lord *Stanley*, *Thomas Rotherham* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *John Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, are impriſoned, 182

Jane Shore, one of King *Edward* IVth's Miſtreſſes, is condemned to do Penance, 184

The Protector haſtens the Execution of his Deſign to get the Crown; and employs Doctor *Shaw* to preach about it, *ibid.* and 185

The Lord-Mayor is ordered to aſſemble the Aldermen, and Common-Council of *London*, to whom the Duke of *Buckingham* makes a Speech in Favour of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, 187

The Duke is declared King, by Citizens bribed for that Purpoſe, 189

The Duke of *Buckingham*, and others, go and offer him the Crown, *ibid.*

The Protector refuſes it at firſt, but afterwards accepts it, 190, 191

RICH. III. *RICHARD* III.

1483. *June* 22. *Richard* III, is proclaimed King, Page 193

John Howard is made *Earl-Marſhal*, and Duke of *Norfolk*. *Thomas Howard* his Son is created Earl of *Surrey*. *William Berkley*, Earl of *Notingham*, and the Lord *Lovel* a Viſcount, 194

Thomas Rotherham Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Lord *Thomas Stanley* are releaſed, *ibid.*

John Morton Biſhop of *Ely*, is committed to the Cuſtody of *Henry Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, *ibid.*

July 6. The King and Queen are crowned, 195

King *Richard* ſends Ambaſſadors to *Caſtile*, *Bretagne*, and *France*, 197

Rich. III. *Henry Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham* claims the Moiety of the Inheritance of the House of *Hereford*, Page 197
King *Richard* denies him his Demand, upon which the Duke withdraws in Discontent, 199
He causes King *Edward* V, and *Richard* Duke of *York* his Nephews, to be put to Death, *ibid.*
August, King *Richard* is crowned again at *York*, 200
Renews the Alliance with *Castile*, *ibid.*
Creates his Son *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, *ibid.*
Aug. 29. *Lewis* XI dies: His Son *Charles* VIII succeeds him, 201
The Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Bishop of *Ely*, conspire to dethrone King *Richard*; and to place *Henry Tudor* Earl of *Richmond* on the Throne, 202----204
They inform *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond* of their Design, 207
John Morton Bishop of *Ely* escapes into *Flanders*, *ibid.*
Elizabeth Widow of King *Edward* IV, enters into the Plot, and promises to give her eldest Daughter *Elizabeth*, to the Duke of *Richmond* for a Wife, 209
The Duke of *Richmond* approves of the Project, and informs the Duke of *Bretagne* of it, who promises him Assistance, 211
King *Richard* tries to get *Henry Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham* to Court, but in vain, 213
The Duke takes up Arms, to go and join the Earl of *Richmond* in the West, *ibid.*
He is hindered by a great Inundation from passing *Severn*, *ibid.*
Is betrayed by one *Banister*, and beheaded, 214
Henry Earl of *Richmond* comes upon the Coast of *Cornwal*: He is like to be surprized, but escapes again to *Bretagne*, 215, 216
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King *Richard* causes several of the Conspirators to be put to Death; and grants the Office of *Vice-Constable* to Sir *Ralph Ashton* for that Purpose, 217

The

RICH. III.

1484. The Parliament declares the Iſſue of King *Edward* IV, Illegitimate, Page 218

An Act of Attainder is paſſed againſt the Earl of *Richmond*, *ibid.*

Thomas Lord *Stanley* is made High-Conſtable, and ordered to keep his Wife, the Counteſs of *Richmond*, confined, *ibid.*

King *Richard* receives freſh Advices of the Conſpiracy, and renews his Alliances with *Caſtile*, *Portugal*, *Maximilian*, and *France*, 219----220

Concludes a Truce with *Bretagne*, and *Scotland*, 221

King *Richard* hath ſome private Negotiations with *Peter Landais*, the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Favourite, about the delivering up the Earl of *Richmond*, *ibid.* and 222

Edward Prince of *Wales*, and *Richard*'s Son, dies. The King declares his Nephew *John de la Pole* Earl of *Lincoln* his Heir Apparent, *ibid.*

The Earl of *Richmond* is informed by the Biſhop of *Ely*, of *Landais*'s ill Deſigns againſt him; and happily eſcapes into *France*, 223, 224

The Duke of *Bretagne* ſends him Offers of Service, *Landais* is hanged, 224

John de Vere Earl of *Oxford*, eſcapes out of *Hammes*, and goes to the Earl of *Richmond*; with the Governour of *Hammes*, 225

King *Richard* diſcovers the Project of the Marriage of the Earl of *Richmond*, with the Princeſs *Elizabeth*; and reſolves to marry her himſelf, 226

He gets the Queen-Dowager to deliver up her Daughters, 227

Cauſes the Queen his Wife to be poiſoned, 228

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King *Henry* takes care to encourage *Cranmer*, and orders him to give his Reasons for opposing the six Articles, 578, 579
Shaxton Bishop of *Salisbury*, and *Latimer* of *Worcester*, resign their Sees, and are sent to the Tower, 580
The King sends Commissioners into the several Counties, to make Inquiry of those who rejected the six Articles, *ibid.*
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Thomas Cromwell is created Earl of *Essex*, *ibid.*
He is disgraced; and *Gardiner*, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, stir up the King against him, *ibid.* and 591
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Mary Queen of *Scotland* is crowned, 646
Aug. 20. The Regent Sides with the Queen-Dowager, and the Cardinal, and abjures the Protestant Religion, *ib.*
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Three Protestants are burnt at *Windsor*, *ibid.*
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William Parr the Queen's Brother, is created Earl of *Essex*, 653
1544. *January* 5 The Parliament passes an Act, settling the Succession to the Crown, 654
They declare the King free from all Debts, 656
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14. King *Henry* takes *Boulogne*, and retires to *Calis*, 665
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The Proteſtants are perſecuted in *Scotland*. *Wiſhart* ſuffers Martyrdom, 686
Cardinal *Beaton* is murdered, *ibid.*
Shaxton is condemned to be burnt. He abjures, and is pardoned, 687
Ann Askew is burnt, 688
Deſigns are formed againſt *Cranmer*: He is openly accuſed, but protected by the King, 689, 690
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The King begins to hate the Enemies of the Reformation, 693
Gardiner is turned out of Favour, *ibid.*
Thomas Howard Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Henry* his Son Earl of *Surrey*, are ſent to the Tower, *ibid.*—— 695
The two Univerſities are reſtored to all their Eſtates, *&c.* *ibid.*
King *Henry* makes his Will. *Gardiner* is ſtruck out of it, 696

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1547. Jan. 19. *Henry Howard* Earl of *Surrey* is beheaded, Page 700
An Act of Attainder is passed against the Duke of *Norfolk*; and a Warrant signed for his Execution, 703
Archbishop *Cranmer* retires to *Croydon* during the Duke's Process, *ibid.*
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King *Henry* instituted the *President of the North*, 705
He built St. *James*'s Palace, *ibid.*
1539. The manner of casting Pipes of Lead for conveying Water, was first invented by *Robert Brock*, *ibid.*
1544. And the first *cast* Pieces of Iron in *England* were made at *Backstead* in *Sussex*, *ibid.*

1524. *Turkeys, Carps, Hops, Piccarel, and Beer, Came into* England, *all in this Year*, 706

1537. *Wales* was incorporated into *England*, *ibid.*
1546. The Publick *Stews* were suppressed, 705

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EDWARD VI.

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1547. Jan. 29. EDward VI, succeeds the King his Father, being but nine Years and three Months old, Page 1
31. He is proclaimed, 2
Feb. 1. King *Henry* VIII's Will is opened, *ibid.*
It is there found, that *Henry* had nominated sixteen Persons to be his Executors, Regents of the Kingdom, and Governours to his Son, *ibid.*
Besides these, King *Henry* had appointed a Privy-Council of twelve Persons, to be assisting to the Regents, 4
Edward Seymour, Earl of *Hertford*, is chosen Protector 11
He is made Duke of *Somerset*; and *William Parr* Earl of *Essex*, is created Marques of *Northampton*; *John Dudley* Viscount *Lisle*, Earl of *Warwick*; *Tho-*

Edw. VI. 1547. *mas Wriothesley* Lord-Chancellor, Earl of *Southampton*; Sir *Thomas Seymour* Lord *Sudley*; Sir *Richard Rich*, and *Robert Sheffield*, Barons; and Sir *William Willoughby*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, Page 12

About five or six Thousand Pounds a Year, of the Lands belonging to the Chantries, are alienated to find the Revenues and Salaries assigned to the new Lords, 13

Feb. 10. The Protector procures to himself the Offices of

17. Lord-Treasurer, and Earl-Marshal, *ibid.*

His Brother *Thomas Seymour*, is made High-Admiral, 14

King *Henry* VIII is buried at *Windsor*, *ibid.*

20. King *Edward* VI, is crowned, 15

A General Pardon is published, with a few Exceptions, *ibid.*

The Lord Chancellor *Wriothesley* is confined to his House, 16

The Great-Seal is taken from him, and given to the Lord St. *John*, *ibid.*

The Protector is confirmed in his Office by Letters Patent under the Great-Seal, 17

Mar. 11. *France* concludes two new Treaties with *England*, 18

31. *Francis* I, King of *France*, dies, 19

Henry II succeeds him, and refuses to ratify the Treaty with *England*, *ibid.*

Fifty Thousand Crowns are privately given by the *English* Council to the Princes of the Protestant League in *Germany*, 20

The Protector and the Council resolve to push the Reformation, 20----23

The Protector prepares to carry the War into *Scotland*, 24

Aug. 4. Conferences are set on Foot for a Peace, but prove ineffectual, *ibid.*

Sept. 3. The Protector enters *Scotland*, and takes some Castles, *ibid.*

He offers a Peace to the Regent of *Scotland*, who rejects his Offer, 25

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EDW. VI. 1547. The *English* Army moves forward, and approaches the *Scots*, Page 26

Sept. 10. The *Scots* are defeated at the Battle of *Pinkey* or *Muſſelburgh*; in which eighteen Thouſand of them are ſlain, and fifteen Hundred taken Priſoners, 27

Sept. 18. The Protector, being informed that his Brother the Admiral was caballing againſt him, returns in great haſte to *England*, having employed but ſixteen Days in his Expedition, *ibid.* and 28

Edmund Bonner Biſhop of *London*, and *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, are ſent to Priſon, 29

The Princeſs *Mary* complains of the Progreſs of the Reformation, *ibid.*

October. The Lord *Rich* is made High-Chancellor, *ibid.*

Nov. 3. The Protector is inveſted with new Privileges, *ibid.*

4. The Parliament meets, 30

A Statute is enacted, repealing ſeveral others, paſſed in the late, and ſome former Reigns, and confirming the Order of Succeſſion, as ſettled by *Henry* VIII, 32

The Law of the ſix Articles is repealed, *ibid.*

Private Maſſes are aboliſhed, and the Cup in the Communion reſtored to the People, 33

Power is given to the King to nominate to the vacant Biſhopricks, *ibid.*

A very remarkable Act is paſſed againſt Vagabonds, *ibid.*

All the Lands deſigned for Chantries, Chapels, and Colleges, *&c.* are given to the King, 34

A General Pardon is granted, with a few Exceptions. *Gardiner* has the Benefit of it, 35

The Admiral cabals againſt the Protector his Brother, *ibid.*

He makes his Addreſſes to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*: marries *Catharine Parr*, the Queen-Dowager, *ibid.*

The Emperour *Charles* V, defeats and takes Priſoner, *John Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*, 39

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EDW. VI. 1547. The Proteſtant Party grows very weak in *Germany*, Page 39
Peter Martyr, *Bucer*, *Ochinus*, *Fagius*, and ſeveral other Proteſtants come to *England*, *ibid.*
The Protector, upon a Complaint from the King of *France*, orders the Fortifications of *Bullenberg* to be diſcontinued, 40
1548. A great Progreſs is made in the Reformation, *ibid.*
Stephen Gardiner is ſent to the Tower for oppoſing it, *ibid.*
The Protector tries in vain to make a Truce with *Scotland*, 41
He appoints *Francis Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* to be his Lieutenant in the War with *Scotland*, *ibid.*
The Regent of *Scotland* beſieges *Broughty*-Caſtle, but in vain, 42
The *Engliſh* become Maſters of *Hadington* and *Lauder*-Caſtles, *ibid.*
The *Scots*, having received from *France* an Aid of ſix Thouſand Men, beſiege *Hadington*, *ibid.*
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Deſſé Deſpanvilliers, General of the *French* Succours, attempts to ſuprize *Hadington*, but without Succeſs, *ibid.*
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Prieſts are allowed to marry. The *Liturgy* is reformed, and confirmed, *ibid.*

EDW. VI. 1549. The Admiral (*Thomas Seymour*) continues his Practices against the Protector, Page 49
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He is sent to the *Tower*, and refuses to Answer, 50
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The Parliament and Clergy grant the King Subsidies, 53
14. It is prorogued, *ibid.*
The new Liturgy is established in all the Churches: The Princess *Mary* refuses to comply with it, *ibid.*
Apr. 12. *Joan Bocher*, an Anabaptist, is burnt, 54
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The Protector tries in vain to redress the People's Grievances, *ibid.*
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They send him their Demands, which are rejected, *ib.* & 59
They besiege *Exeter*, 60
The Lord *Russel* beats them, relieves *Exeter*, and puts an End to the Insurrection in *Devonshire*, *ib.*
Arundel, and *Boyer* Mayor of *Bodmin*, are hanged, 61
The Malecontents in *Norfolk* flock together to the Number of twenty Thousand, being headed by one *Ket* a Tanner, *ibid.*
William Parr Marquess of *Northampton* is sent against them, with eleven hundred Men, *ibid.*
He marches to *Norwich*, and is driven out thence, with the Loss of a hundred and Thirty of his Men, 62
John Dudley Earl of *Warwick*, marches against them with the Army designed against *Scotland*, and dispersses the Rebels, *ibid.*

Edw. VI. *Ket* their Captain is hanged, Page 62
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Henry II, King of *France* enters the Territory of *Bologne*, without declaring War, 63
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Henry II, beſieges *Boulogne*, 64
The Siege of it is turned into a Blockade, *ibid.*
De *Thermes* takes *Broughty*-Caſtle from the *Engliſh*, *ib.*
15. The Protector cauſes *Hadington* to be demoliſhed, *ib.*
He propoſes to the Council the reſtoring *Boulogne* to *France*: The Propoſal is received with Indignation, 64--66
William Paget is ſent Embaſſadour to the Emperour *Charles* V, to try to make an Alliance with him for the Security of *Boulogne*, 66
Abundance of Complaints are made againſt the Protector, *ibid.*
Oct. 6. The Lord St. *John* Preſident of the Council, and eight of the Counſellors, ſeparate from the reſt, and meet at *Ely*-Houſe in *Holbourn*, 68
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He is declared by the Council unworthy of being Protector, 70
The Council publiſh a Manifeſto, and write to the King to inform him of their Proceedings, *ibid.*
The King approves of their Conduct, *ibid.*
12. The Council goes in a Body to the King at *Windſor*, 71

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EDW. VI.

1549. Oct. 14. The Duke of *Somerset* is accused before the Council, and sent to the *Tower*, Page 71, 72

The Council appoints six Governours of the King, *ibid.*

John Dudley Earl of *Warwick*, takes upon him the principal Administration of the Government, *ib.*

Thomas Wriothesley Earl of *Southampton*, withdraws from Court, and dies, 74

A second Embassy is sent to the Emperour *Charles* V, to perswade him to take *Boulogne* into his Protection, 75

His Answer determines the Council to make Peace with *France*, *ibid.*

28. The Earl of *Warwick* is made High-Admiral, and Great Master of the King's Household, 78

Nov. 4. The Parliament meets; and makes a severe Act against unlawful Assemblies; but repeals the Act against Vagrants, 75

10. Pope *Paul* III dies, 84

Cardinal *Pole* loses the Pontificate by a piece of Nicety, *ibid.*

1550. *Jan.* 2. An Act of Attainder is passed against *Edward Seymour* Duke of *Somerset*, grounded upon his Confession subscribed with his own Hand, 76

He is fined, and condemned to lose all his Places, *ib.*

Feb. 6. Comes out of the *Tower*, and hath his Pardon, 77

April 6. The King gives him a Place again in his Council, *ib.*

Feb. An Act is passed to confirm the new Liturgy, and ordering Images to be burnt or defaced, *ibid.*

2. The Parliament is prorogued, *ibid.*

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1551. *Apr.* 18. *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* is deprived, 85

A *Confeſſion of Faith* is drawn. The Princeſs *Mary* refuſes to ſubmit to it, *ib.* & 86

She would have gone out of the Kingdom; but is prevented, 86

The Sweating-Sickneſs rages in *England*, from *April* till *October*, *ibid.*

Henry and *Charles* Sons of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk* dye of it, 87

The Earl of *Warwick* forms the Project of marrying the Princeſs *Elizabeth* to ſome foreign Prince, of excluding *Mary* from the Succeſſion, and of marrying one of his Sons to *Jane Grey* eldeſt Daughter of *Henry Grey* Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, 86---88

King *Edward* ſends an Embaſſy to *Henry* II, to carry him the Order of the Garter, and to propoſe a Marriage between himſelf and the Princeſs *Elizabeth Henry* IId's Daughter, 88

Maurice Elector of *Saxony*, ſends Embaſſadours to *England*, but without Succeſs, 97

He becomes Maſter of *Magdeburgh*, and breaks up his Army, 98

May. The Council is removed back to *Trent*, *ibid.*

July 19. The Treaty about King *Edward*'s Marriage is ſigned at *Angers*, 88

Octob. The Earl of *Warwick* is created Duke of *Northumberland*; *Henry Grey* Marqueſs of *Northampton*, Duke of *Suffolk*; *William Pawlet* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*; Sir *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*;

EDW. VI. *Pembroke*; *John* Lord *Russel* Earl of *Bedford*, and
1551. Sir *Thomas Darcy* Lord *Darcy*, Page 88, 89
Oct. 17. The Ruin of the Duke of *Somerset* is determined. He is sent to the *Tower*, *ibid.*
Dec. 1. The King is pre-possessed against him, 90
The Duke of *Somerset* is impeached before the Peers, 91
He is acquitted by them of Treason, but condemned to die for Felony, 93
The Great Seal is taken from the Lord-Chancellor *Rich*, upon account of his acting in behalf of the Duke of *Somerset*, 94
1552. *Jan.* 22 The King signs an Order for the beheading of the Duke of *Somerset*, 95
Edward Seymour Duke of *Somerset* is beheaded, *ibid.*
His pretended Accomplices, Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Michael Stanhope*, and Sir *Thomas Arundel*, are put to Death, 97
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23. The Parliament meets, 98
An Act is passed enjoyning the confronting of Witnesses, *ibid.*
The Marriage of the Clergy is declared valid, 99
The Parliament is dissolved, *ibid.*
Heath and *Day* Bishops of *Worcester* and *Chichester* are deprived, 100
An Alteration is made in the Bishops Patents, constituting them only, *as long as they behaved well*, *ib.*
A strict Inquiry is made of those who had been inriched by the Chantry-Lands, *ibid.*
The Lord *Paget* is fined, and degraded from the Order of the Garter, 101
The Company of *German* Merchants iu the *Still-yard* is dissolved. A Project to make *Hull* and *Southampton* free Mart-Towns, 102
Cardan comes to *England*, *ibid.*

James

Edw. VI. 1552. *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran*, and Duke of *Chatelerault*, reſigns the Regency of *Scotland* to *Mary* of *Guiſe*, the Queen Dowager, Page 103

Maurice Elector of *Saxony* declares againſt *Charles* V, and thereby obliges him to grant the Proteſtants *the Edict of* Paſſaw, *ibid.*

1553. Marc. 1. A new Parliament meets, *ibid.*

The Commons grant the King a very conſiderable Subſidy, 104

Cuthbert Tonſtal Biſhop of *Durham*, is deprived, *ib.*

The See of *Durham* is ſuppreſſed, and two others founded; one at *Durham*, the other at *Newcaſtle*, *ibid.*

The Temporality of the Biſhoprick of *Durham* is turned into a County Palatine, and given to the Duke of *Northumberland*, *ibid.*

March 31. The Parliament is diſſolved, *ibid.*

The King is ſeized with a dangerous Diſtemper, *ibid.*

He is concerned about the State of Religion after his Death, 105

The Church-Plate is called in, *ibid.*

May *Guilford Dudley* the Duke of *Northumberland*'s fourth Son, marries *Jane Grey*, 106

The Duke perſwades the King to ſettle the Crown on *Jane Grey*, *ibid.*

The Judges refuſe to draw the Act of Settlement, 107

June 15. 21. They are compelled to do it, and all ſet their Hands to it, except *Hales*: It is ſigned likewiſe by the whole Council, *ibid.*

The Duke of *Northumberland* is ſuſpected of being the Cauſe of the King's Illneſs, 105, 107

July 6. King *Edward* VI dies, 107

The Duke of *Northumberland* tries in vain to get the Princeſſes *Mary* and *Elizabeth* in his Power, 108

MARY. # MARY.

1553. MARY, *Elizabeth*, *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, and *Jane Grey*, pretend all Four to the Crown, Page 109---113

Mary and *Jane Grey* remain the only Competitors, 114

July 9. *Mary* retires to *Kenning-hall* in *Norfolk*, and writes from thence a Letter to the Council, 115

She comes to *Framlingham*-Caſtle in *Suffolk*, and takes the Title of Queen, *ibid.*

Is proclaimed at *Norwich*, and ſends a circular Letter to all the Nobility requiring their Aſſiſtance, *ibid.*

John Dudley Duke of *Northumberland*, and *Henry Grey* Duke of *Norfolk*, give *Jane* Notice of her being Queen, 116

Jane Grey accepts the Crown with Reluctance, 117

She withdraws to the *Tower*, with the Council, *ibid.*

The Council returns no very favourable Anſwer to *Mary*'s Letter, 118

10. *Jane* is proclaimed: The People expreſs no Joy at it, *ibid.*

The Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* declare for *Mary*, 123

She poſitively promiſes to leave Religion in the ſame State ſhe found it, 124

Jane ſends *Richard Shelley* Embaſſadour to the Emperour, who refuſes him Audience, *ibid.*

The Council raiſes Troops to oppoſe *Mary*, *ibid.*

Henry Fitz-Alan Earl of *Arundel*, breaks the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Meaſures, 125

14. The Duke of *Northumberland* goes from *London* to head ſix thouſand Men, who were aſſembled at *Newmarket*, *ib.* & 126

He marches to *Cambridge*, and from thence to St. *Edmund*'s-*Bury*, 127

His Army is much diminiſhed by Deſertions, *ibid.*

Biſhop

MARY. 1553. Biſhop *Ridley* preaches at St. *Paul's* in Favour of *Jane*, Page 126
Sir *Edward Haſtings* declares for *Mary*, with 4000 Men, and gets her proclaimed at *Buckingham*, 127
Six Men of War declare likewiſe for her, *ibid.*
The Duke of *Northumberland* returns to *Cambridge*, from whence he ſends to the Council for a ſpeedy Supply, *ibid.*
July 19. Some of the Counſellors find Means to get out of the *Tower*, *ib.* & 128
They declare for *Mary*, and get her proclaimed at *London*, 128
Henry Grey Duke of *Suffolk* delivers up the *Tower* to them, 129
Jane lays down her Dignity, *ibid.*
The Duke of *Northumberland* is ordered to diſmiſs his Army, but he prevents the Orders, *ibid.*
He proclaims Queen *Mary* at *Cambridge*, 130
25. He is apprehended by the Earl of *Arundel*, and carried to the *Tower*, with three of his Sons, and ſeveral others, *ibid.*
The whole Kingdom declares for *Mary*. *ibid.*
Jane Grey, the Duke of *Suffolk*, Biſhop *Ridley*, and ſeveral others are made Priſoners in the *Tower*, *ib.*
Henry Grey Duke of *Suffolk*, is ſet at Liberty, *ibid.*
Aug. 3. Queen *Mary* makes her Entry into *London*, 131
Thomas Howard Duke of *Norfolk*, *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, and the Lord *Courtney*, are releaſed out of the *Tower*; and the latter made ſhortly after Earl of *Devonſhire*, *ibid.*
The Queen determines to ſend for Cardinal *Pool* to *England*, as Legate, *ibid.*
Gardiner oppoſes it, and gets the Emperour to diſſwade Queen *Mary* from that Reſolution, *ib.* & 132
The Queen gives him the Great-Seal, 132
12. King *Edward's* Funeral is ſolemnized, *ibid.*
Queen *Mary* declares that ſhe would not force Men's Conſciences in Matters of Religion, 133

Bourn,

MARY. 1553. *Bourn* Bishop *Bonner*'s Chaplain, is like to be murdered by the People, for Reflecting, in a Sermon of his, upon the Memory of King *Edward* VI, Page 133

He is rescued by *Bradford* and *Rogers* two *Protestant* Ministers, 134

Aug. 18. The Queen issues out a Proclamation which discovers her Intentions with regard to Religion, *ibid.*

John Dudley Duke of *Northumberland*, *William Parr* Marquess of *Northampton*, *Ambrose Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *John*, and Sir *Henry Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer* are brought to their Tryals, 135

They are condemned, 137

22. The Duke of *Northumberland*, *John Gate*, and *Thomas Palmer* are executed, *ibid.*

The Deputies from *Suffolk* are ill received at Court, and *Dobbe* one of them, is set in the Pillory, for having spoken too freely, 138

Bradford and *Rogers*, the two Ministers that had rescued *Bourn*, are imprisoned, *ibid.*

The Bishops deposed in King *Edward*'s Time, viz. *Bonner*, *Gardiner*, *Tonstal*, *Day*, and *Heath*, are restored, *ibid.*

Many *Protestant* Clergymen are imprisoned, *ibid.*

The Mass is restored in several Places, 139

Judge *Hales* is condemned to a Thousand Pounds Fine, *ibid.*

He grows Melancholy, and drowns himself, *ibid.*

Peter Martyr leaves *Oxford*, and retires to Archbishop *Cranmer*, *ibid.*

Cranmer is cited into the Star-Chamber, and dismissed without Punishment, 140

He is summoned before the Council, accused of High-Treason, and sent to the *Tower* with *Latimer*, *ib.*

The Reformed, who were Strangers, are permitted to leave the Kingdom; but the *English* are not, *ibid.*

The Queen rewards her Followers, particularly Sir *Edward Hastings*, and *Henry Ratcliffe* Earl of *Sussex*, 141

Queen

MARY.

Oct. 1. Queen *Mary* is crowned, Page 141
1553. An Act of Grace is publiſhed, but clogged with many Exceptions, 142
4. The Queen remits to her Subjects the Subſidies granted by them to King *Edward* VI, *ibid.*
Robert Holgate Archbiſhop of *York*, is ſent to the *Tower*, *ibid.*
John Veſey Biſhop of *Exeter* is reſtored to his See, *ib.*
The Court finds Means of getting a Parliament devoted to its Intereſts, 142, 143
10. *John Taylor* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and *John Harley* Biſhop of *Hereford*, are expelled the Houſe of Lords for refuſing to kneel at the Maſs, 144
The Parliament meets, and paſſes ſeveral Acts; but doth not meddle with Religion, *ibid.*
21. It is prorogued, *ibid.*
24. In their ſecond Seſſion, the Divorce between King *Henry* VIII, and *Catharine* of *Arragon*, is repealed. And, 145
31. An Act is paſſed for reſtoring the Maſs, *ibid.*
Queen *Mary* grows jealous of her Siſter *Elizabeth*, *ib.*
Several Statutes are enacted about Religious Affairs, 146
The Attainder of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk* is reverſed, *ibid.*
Nov. 3. *Jane Grey*, *Guilford Dudley* her Husband, two other Sons of the late Duke of *Northumberland*, and Archbiſhop *Cranmer* are brought to their Tryals, and condemned as Traytors, 147
Commendone is ſent to *England* by Cardinal *Bandini* the Pope's Legate at *Bruſſels*, *ib.* & 148
The Queen deſires him to interceed with the Pope to ſend over Cardinal *Pool* as his Legate, *ibid.*
Gardiner oppoſes it, *ibid.*
The Emperour *Charles* V propoſes to Queen *Mary* a Marriage between her, and his Son *Philip* Prince of *Spain*: The Queen approves of it, *ib.* & 149
Cardinal *Pool* is detained in *Germany*, 150

MARY. 1553. The House of Commons petitions the Queen not to marry a foreign Prince, Page 151
Dec. 6. She dissolves the Parliament, *ibid.*
The Convocation of the Clergy establishes *Transubstantiation*, 152
A publick Disputation is held upon it between the *Popish* and *Protestant* Clergy, *ibid.*
1554. *Jan.* The Emperour sends an Embassy to *London* to conclude the Marriage, *ib.* & 153
12. The Treaty of Marriage is concluded, 154
William Parr Marquess of *Northampton* is pardoned, 157
The Queen suspends the Act against the *German* Merchants, in the *Still-Yard*, *ibid.*
The People murmur against her Marriage, *ibid.*
Henry Grey Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Thomas Wyat*, and Sir *Peter Carew* form the Design of causing a general Insurrection, 158
Carew is discovered, and flies into *France*, *ibid.*
Wyat repairs to *Maidstone* with a handful of Men; and refuses to lay down his Arms, *ibid.*
25. Six hundred of the City Trained-Bands, which the Duke of *Norfolk* was leading against *Wyat*, desert the Duke, and join *Wyat*, who marches towards *London*, *ib.* & 159
The Queen dispatches two Envoys to him; He makes them unreasonable Demands, which are rejected, 159
Feb. 5. He enters *Westminster*, and advances towards the City; but finding *Ludgate* shut against him, he surrenders, and is sent to Prison, 160
11. The Duke of *Suffolk* is betrayed and taken, 161
12. *Jane Grey*, and *Guilford Dudley* her Husband, are executed, 162
14, 15. *Bret*, with fifty eight more of the Rebels, are hanged, 163
20. The Queen pardoned six hundred Persons that had been concerned in the Insurrection, *ibid.*
21. *Henry Grey* Duke of *Suffolk* is beheaded, 162

Sir

MARY. 1554. Sir *Thomas Wyat*, at his Tryal, accuſes the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*: They are both committed to the *Tower*, Page 162, 163

Sir *Nicolas Throgmorton* being tryed and acquitted, his Jury is ſeverely fined for it; *ibid.*

Sir *John Throgmorton* is condemned upon that Account, though there were no better Proofs againſt him than againſt his Brother, *ibid.*

Wyat clears the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and the Earl of *Devonſhire* at his ſecond Examination; and is executed, 164

March. Queen *Mary* gives Chancellor *Gardiner* a particular Order to purge the Church of all married Biſhops and Prieſts, 165

13. Several Biſhops are deprived, *ibid.*

The Maſs is reſtored every where, 166

Apr. 2. The Parliament meets, and is entirely at the Court's Devotion, having been bribed by *Gardiner*, *ibid.*

It paſſes an Act to confirm *the Queen*'s Prerogatives, 167

The Biſhoprick of *Durham* is reſtored to its ancient Rights, 169

The Parliament approves the Treaty of Marriage between the Queen and *Philip*, *ibid.*

Apr. 15, 16, 17. *Cranmer*, *Ridley* and *Latimer* are carried to *Oxford* to maintain there a publick Diſputation about the *Euchariſt*, 170

They are interrupted, and not ſuffered to be heard, *ib.*

20. Upon their refuſing to make Abjuration, they are excommunicated, 171

May 16. The Princeſs *Elizabeth* is removed from the *Tower* to *Woodſtock*, and treated with Rigour, 164

25. The Parliament is prorogued, 170

July 16. *Philip* ſets out from the *Groin*, 171

20. He lands at *Southampton*; and draws his Sword upon his Landing, *ibid.*

27. Queen *Mary* goes to meet him as far as *Wincheſter*, where the Marriage is ſolemnized, *ibid.*

Philip brings with him a great deal of Silver, *ibid.*

He

Mary. 1554. He obtains a Pardon for the Princeſs *Elizabeth* and ſome others; particularly for *Holgate* Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Earl of *Devonſhire*, Page 171
Sept. *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk* dies, 173
Nov. 11. A new Parliament meets, *ibid.*
The Court ſends for Cardinal *Pool* over; and the Act of his Condemnation is reverſed by Parliament, *ib.*
24. Cardinal *Pool* arrives in *England* as the Pope's Legate, *ibid.*
He makes a Speech to the Parliament, at which the Queen is ſo moved, that ſhe fancied ſhe felt a Child ſtir in her Womb, 174
29. The two Houſes of Parliament petition the King and Queen for a Reconciliation of the Kingdom with the Pope, *ibid.*
They are abſolved by the Pope's Legate, *ibid.*
Several Acts are paſſed by the Parliament; Particularly one reſtoring the Authority of the Pope; with five Reſtrictions ratified by the Legate, 175
Another, to renew the ancient Statutes againſt Heretricks, 179
And another, authorizing *Philip* to aſſume the Title of King of *England* during his Marriage, and making it Treaſon to attempt upon his Life, *ibid.*
The Court deliberates upon the propereſt Meaſures to be taken againſt the Reformed: *Pool* is for gentle, and *Gardiner* for rigorous Methods, the latter prevails, 180
Queen *Mary* ſends an Embaſſy to *Rome*, with Offers of Obedience to the Pope, 181
1555. *Gardiner* undertakes to put in Execution the Laws againſt the Reformed, *ibid.*
Feb. 4. *Rogers* is burnt at *London*, 182
9. And *John Hooper* at *Glouceſter*, *ibid.*
Saunders and *Taylor* are alſo executed, *ibid.*
Gardiner transfers his Commiſſion to perſecute the Reformed to *Edmund Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, 183
The Perſecution cauſes an univerſal Conſternation all over the Kingdom, *ibid.*

MARY. The Bishops throw the Persecution upon the Court,
1555. Page 183
Philip orders his Confessor to preach against the Persecution, 154
The Cruelties against the *Protestants* are renewed, *ib.*
March 23. Pope *Julius* III, dies, 186
28. Queen *Mary* restores the Goods of the Churches and Monasteries, 185
April 9. *Marcellus* II, is chosen Pope, 186
The Princess *Elizabeth* is released from her Confinement at *Woodstock*, 184
Pope *Marcellus* II, dies 22 Days after his Exaltation, 186
Queen *Mary* forms the Design of raising Cardinal *Pool* to the Papacy, *ibid.*
May 23. *Paul* IV is chosen Pope, *ibid.*
He privately erects *Ireland* into a Kingdom, gives Audience to the *English* Embassadours, and demands of them the Restitution of the Goods of the Church, and of *Peter*-Pence, 187
The Privy-Council orders the Justices of Peace in *Norfolk* to proceed against the Reformed, *ibid.*
29. The Queen has a false Conception, 189
July. *Bradford* is burnt, 188
Sept. 4. *Philip* grows weary of the Queen, and goes over into *Flanders*, 189, 190
A pretended Conspiracy is discovered, 190
A strict Inquiry is made after those who had pillaged the Churches and Monasteries, *ibid.*
Octob. Pope *Paul* IV makes a League with *France* against *Spain*, 197
21. The Parliament meets; and makes an Act to confirm the Queen's Resignation of the *First Fruits* and *Tenths* to the Pope, 190
The Commons begin to oppose the Court, *ibid.*
Novemb. *Nicolas Ridley* Bishop of *London*, and *Hugh Latimer* late Bishop of *Worcester*, are burnt at *Oxford*, 188

MARY.
1555. Nov. 12. Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of *Winchester*, and High-Chancellor, dies, Page 191
Dec. 9. The Parliament is diſſolved. *ibid.*
Pope *Paul* IV, ſends a Bull to erect *Ireland* into a Kingdom, 193
The Emperour *Charles* V, reſigns all his *Spaniſh* Dominions to his Son *Philip*, and the Imperial Dignity to his Brother *Ferdinand*, *ibid.*
1556. Jan. 1. *Nicholas Heath* Archbiſhop of *York* is made High-Chancellor, *ibid.*
Feb. 5. A five Years Truce is concluded between *France* and *Spain*, 198
14. *Thomas Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* is degraded: He ſigns an Abjuration, and repents of it, 193---195
Mar. 21 He is burnt, 195
Cardinal *Pool* is made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *ib.*
The Perſecution of the Reformed is carried on with the utmoſt Barbarity, 196
Queen *Mary* repairs old Monaſteries, and erects new ones, *ibid.*
She gives a Commiſſion to Biſhop *Bonner*, and ſome others, to raze out of the publick Records all that had been done by King *Henry* VIII, againſt the Monks and the Pope, *ibid.*
Pope *Paul* IV, prevails with *Henry* II, King of *France*, to break the Truce with *Spain*, 198
1557. Cardinal *Pool* viſits both the Univerſities, 199
January The Bones of *Bucer* and *Fagius* are burnt at *Cambridge*, *ibid.*
The Wife of *Peter Martyr* is dug out of her Grave at *Oxford*, and buried a-new in a Dunghill, *ibid.*
The Magiſtrates grow remiſs in the Perſecution; whereupon the Council writes Circular Letters to all the Towns to incite their Zeal, *ibid.*
Queen *Mary* grants a Commiſſion tending to erect an *Inquiſition* in *England*; after which enſued a dreadful Perſecution, *ibid.* and 200

MARY. The Duke of *Guise* marches into *Italy* to conquer
1557. *Naples*, Page 200
King *Philip* brings Queen *Mary* to declare against
France, *ibid.* &c.
Apr. 27. One *Stafford* makes a Descent in *Scotland* with *French*
Troops; and from thence passes into *England*,
where he takes *Scarborough*-Castle, 201
May 20. King *Philip* comes to *England*, 202
28. *Stafford* is taken, *ibid.*
June 7. The Queen declares War against *France*, *ibid.*
17. Eight Thousand *English* under the Conduct of *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke* go and join the *Spanish*
Army in the *Low-Countries*, *ibid.*
The Duke of *Savoy* General of the *Spanish* Army be-
sieges St. *Quintin*, *ibid.*
July 10. The *French* are defeated at the Battle of St. *Laurence*,
ibid.
18. St. *Quintin* is taken, 203
The Pope recalls Cardinal *Pool* from his Legation,
and appoints *Peyton* the Queen's Confessor to suc-
ceed him, *ibid.*
The Queen forbids *Peyton*'s setting his Foot in *Eng-*
land, *ibid.*
The Pope makes a Peace with *Spain*, and restores
Pool to his Office of Legate, *ibid.*
The Duke of *Guise* returns to *France*, 204
The *Scots*, through the Sollicitations of *Henry* II,
King of *France*, make an Irruption into *England*, *ib.*
Philip gives Queen *Mary* Notice of a Design formed
against *Calais*, 205
1558. *Calais* is besieged by the Duke of *Guise*, *ibid.*
January And taken, *ibid.*
As are also *Guisnes* and *Hames*, 206
Philip presses the Queen to make a Push for the Re-
covery of *Calais*, 207
20. The Parliament meets, and grants the Queen a Sub-
sidy, as the Clergy had done before, 208
A Proposal is made in the House of *Commons* to con-
firm all the Queen's Letters Patents, *ibid.*

Ambrose

MARY. *Ambroſe* and *Robert Dudley*, two Sons of the late Duke
1558. of *Northumberland*, are reſtored to their Honours,
Page 208
Mar. 7. The Parliament is prorogued, 209
14. *Ferdinand* I, is declared Emperour, upon the Reſignation of *Charles* V, 228
April. *Francis* the Dauphin, marries *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*; the States of that Kingdom conſent he ſhould take the Title of King of *Scotland*, 209
The King of *Sweden* demands the Princeſs *Elizabeth* in Marriage: She excuſes herſelf, 210, 211
The Perſecution is kindled afreſh, 212
Edward Lord *Clinton* puts to Sea with an Hundred and Twenty Sail, 213
June. He burns *Conqueſt*, and then retires, *ibid.*
Sept. 17. *Charles* V, dies, 228
October. A Peace begins to be negotiated at *Cambray* between *France*, *England*, and *Spain*, 214
Nov. 5. The Parliament meets, and makes ſome Difficulty of granting the Queen a Subſidy, *ibid.*
17. Queen *Mary* dies, *ibid.*
And Cardinal *Pool*, *ibid.*

ELIZ. ELIZABETH.

1558. MARY Queen of *Scotland*, and *Frances* Dutcheſs
Novem. of *Suffolk*, are *Elizabeth*'s Competitors to the Crown, Page 218
The Houſe of Lords declare for *Elizabeth*, 219
The Commons concur with the Lords in owning her for Queen, 220
Queen *Elizabeth* is proclaimed, *ibid.*
Nov. 19. She comes to *London*, followed by a numerous Train of Lords and Ladies, 221
Ambaſſadors are ſent by her to all the principal Courts of *Europe*, *ibid.*
She forms a Council, and puts eight Proteſtants in it, 222

Eliz. 1558. *Philip* II, King of *Spain* makes her Offers of Marriage, Page 222

Queen *Elizabeth* examines before her Cabinet-Council, which were the propereſt Methods to reſtore the Reformed Religion, 224

The Liturgy is reviſed; and the Queen allows, by a Proclamation, the performing the Divine Service in the vulgar Tongue, and the reading of the Holy Scriptures, 227

The Funeral of Queen *Mary* is ſolemnized, *ibid.*

Some Gentlemen in *Scotland* form an Aſſociation, under the Name of *Congregation*, for the Defence of the new, or Reformed Religion, 230

The Queen-Regent gives them Permiſſion to celebrate Divine Service in their own way, *ibid.*

1559. January 5. *William Parr* Marqueſs of *Northampton* is reſtored to his Honours. *Edward Seymour* is created Earl of *Hertford*; *Thomas Howard* Viſcount *Bindon*: And *Henry Carew*, and *Oliver St. John*, made Barons: All theſe Proteſtants, 231

Queen *Elizabeth* is crowned by *Oglethorp* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, *ibid.*

25. The Parliament meets, *ibid.*

The *Tenths*, *First-Fruits*, and impropriated Tythes, are reſtored to the Crown, 232

Feb. 4. The *Commons* addreſs the Queen to marry: She declares to them, that ſhe had no Inclination to it, *ib.*

An Act is paſſed to recognize *Elizabeth* for lawful Queen, *ibid.*

The Parliament makes ſeveral Statutes about Religion, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of ſome Biſhops, 234, 235

The High-Commiſſion Court is erected, 235

The Queen forbids preaching without Licenſe, 236

April. A Conference is held about Religion, but without Succeſs, *ibid.*

Of nine Thouſand four Hundred beneficed Clergymen that were in *England*, only fourteen Biſhops, twelve Archdeacons, fifteen Heads of Colleges, and

Eliz. and about eighty of the Parochial Clergy, refused
1559. to embrace the Reformation, Page 237
April 2. A Peace is signed at *Cateau* between *England* and *France*, *ibid.* &c.
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Eliz. *Frances Brandon* Dutchess of *Suffolk*, dies, Page 307
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1565. *David Rizzo*, a Musician of *Turin*, becomes Queen *Mary*'s Favourite, *ibid.*
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She asks the Approbation of Queen *Elizabeth*, who endeavours to divest her from her Purpose, 318
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Mary

1565. July 29. *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, marries *Henry Stuart* Lord *Darnley*, Page 319

Several Lords, diſſatisfied with it, take Arms; and being purſued by her from Place to Place, are forced to fly into *England*, *ibid.*

Queen *Mary* refuſes to give Audience to an Ambaſſador ſent by Queen *Elizabeth*; but notwithſtanding, returns an Anſwer to her Letter, 321

Queen *Mary* conceives an extreme Averſion to the King her Husband, and lives in a ſcandalous Familiarity with *Rizzo*, *ibid.*

The King privately recalls the fugitive Lords, 323

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Decemb. Pope *Pius* IV, dies: And is ſucceeded by *Pius* V, 324

1566. Janu. The States of *Scotland* meet at *Edinborough*. *Rizzo* preſſes them to condemn the fugitive Lords, *ibid.*

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The Queen is put under a Guard, 325

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Queen *Mary* re-aſſumes her Authority, and pardons the fugitive Lords, 328

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Queen *Mary* forms the Project of dethroning Queen *Elizabeth*, her Deſigns are diſcovered by means of a Spy, *ibid.*

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Queen *Mary* uſes the King her Husband ill, and lives in a ſcandalous manner with *Bothwell*, 333

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Eliz. 1566. The King is treated in so injurious a manner, that he resolves to withdraw; He is poisoned as he was going away, but overcomes the Poison, 335

Henry Fitz-Alan Earl of *Arundel*, quits *England*; and several *English* go into *Hungary* to War against the *Turks*, 336

Queen *Elizabeth* visits the University of *Oxford*, *ibid.*

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The Great Men in the *Low-Countries* form a Confederacy against the setting up of the *Inquisition*, 343

Lewis Count of *Nassau*, presents a Petition to the Governess upon that Affair, being accompanied with four Hundred Men, *ibid.*

Origin of the Name *Gueux*, or Beggars given to the Protestants, *ibid.*

Queen *Mary* orders the Prince her Son to be removed from *Sterling* to *Edinburgh*, 351

The King her Husband resolves to withdraw into *Spain*, she caresses him, and perswades him to retire to *Edinburgh*, *ibid.*

The Earl of *Murray* leaves the Court, 352

1567. *June.* *Henry Stuart* King of *Scotland*, is stifled or strangled in his Bed; *Bothwell* is accused of having caused him to be murdered. The Earl of *Murray* is by some charged with it, 353

The Queen commands him to be interred near *Rizzo*, *ibid.*

The Earl of *Murray* returns to Court, 354

Queen *Mary*, in order to get *Edinborough*-Castle into her Hands, suffers the Earl of *Marr* to carry away the Prince her Son to *Sterling*, *ibid.*

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Justice of the Queen against him, Page 355
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Several Persons endeavour to dissuade Queen *Mary* from marrying *Bothwell*, but all to no Purpose, 356
She suffers herself to be carried off by *Bothwell*, *ibid.*
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He procures the Lords of the Court to sign a Paper, in which they approved of his Marriage with the Queen, 358
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The Earl of *Murray* refuses to sign it, and retires into *France*, *ibid.* and 359
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She puts herself into their Hands, 361
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1567. the Earl of *Murray*, Page 363
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He is owned for Regent, *ibid.*
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Shan ONeal raiſes a Rebellion in *Ireland*: He is ſlain by his own People, 372
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1567. The Court of *France* levies Troops to extirpate the *Huguenots*, Page 373
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Sept. 1. *La Noüe* takes *Orleans*, *ibid.*
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ELIZ. 1568. in order to get those condemned that had taken up Arms in favour of the Queen, Page 383
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The Prince of *Orange* is forced to retire among the *Huguenots* of *France*, *ibid.*
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ELIZ. 1569. from the *Low-Countries*, where he is condemned to dye, Page 401

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Queen *Mary*'s Friends project a Match between her and *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, 403

Mary conſents to it, 404

The Project is communicated to the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, who approve of it, 405

Queen *Elizabeth* is informed of it by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, *ibid.*

She commands the Duke not to think of the Marriage: He promiſes to deſiſt from it, 406

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Thomas Piercy Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Charles Nevil* Earl of *Weſtmoreland* break out into a Rebellion, 408

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The Duke of *Alva* ſends *Ciapine Vitelli* into *England*, *ibid.*

Leonard Dacres rebels: He gathers Troops together, and ſeizes ſome Caſtles, 410

He is defeated, and flies into *Flanders*, *ibid.*

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James Hamilton Duke of *Chateleraud* tries to ſeize the Regency of *Scotland*; but miſcarries in his Attempt, 412, &c.

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Queen

ELIZ. 1569. Queen *Mary* writes to the States of *Scotland*, to desire that her Marriage with *Bothwel* might be annulled, Page 423

Queen *Elizabeth* writes to them in behalf of Queen *Mary*, *ibid.*

They return no Answer to Queen *Mary*'s Letter, but send one to Queen *Elizabeth*'s, *ib.* & 424

The Regent *Murray* orders *Lidington* to be apprehended, who is rescued by the Laird of *Grange*, *ib.*

Queen *Mary*'s Party grows weak in *Scotland*, 425

March 13. The Prince of *Condé* is slain at the Battle of *Jarnac*, *ibid.*

The Duke of *Deuxponts* leads an Army into *France*, to the Assistance of the *Huguenots*: He dies, and is succeeded in the Command of the Army by Count *Mansfeldt*, *ibid.*

Sept. The Siege of *Poitiers* is raised, *ibid.*

Oct. The *Huguenots* are defeated at the Battle of *Moncontour*, *ibid.*

Queen *Elizabeth* lends Admiral *Coligny* Money upon the Queen of *Navarre*'s Jewels; and gives Leave that a Company of a hundred Gentlemen-Volunteers should be raised to serve in the Army of the *Huguenots*, *ibid.*

The King of *France* takes St. *Jean d'Angely*, 426

The Duke of *Alva* continues his Oppressions in the *Low-Countries*, and sets up an Inquisition there, *ib.*

1570. *Jan.* The Regent of *Scotland* apprehends *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, and commits him to Prison, *ibid.*

James Stuart Earl of *Murray*, and Regent of *Scotland*, is assassinated, *ibid.*

The *Scots* and *Carrs* ravage the Borders of *England*, *ibid.*

The Laird of *Lidington* is set at Liberty, and labours for Queen *Mary*, by endeavouring to unite all the *Scots* into one Party against Queen *Elizabeth*, 428

Queen *Elizabeth* avoids the Snare, by complaining only of the Authors of the late Invasion, and not of the whole Nation. *ibid.*

ELIZ. 1570. Queen *Mary*'s Party uſes ſeveral fruitleſs Endeavours to ſtir up Queen *Elizabeth* againſt the whole *Scottiſh* Nation, 429

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The Laird of *Grange* ſets the Duke of *Chateleraud*, and the reſt of the Priſoners of the Queen of *Scot's* Party at Liberty, 430

Queen *Mary*'s Party holds an Aſſembly at *Linlithgow*, and afterwards at *Edinburgh*, of which latter they try to become Maſters, *ibid.*

They offer to make Queen *Elizabeth* their Umpire; She conſents to be Mediatrix between the two Parties, ſaving to herſelf the Puniſhment of the Violators of the Peace, *ibid.*

The *Engliſh* Army, commanded by *Thomas Ratcliff* Earl of *Suſſex*, ravages the Lands of thoſe who were concerned in the late Incurſion into *England*, 341

May. The States called in the King of *Scotland*'s Name meet at *Edinburgh*, *ibid.*

Queen *Mary*'s Adherents beſiege *Glaſcow*: Sir *William Drury* Governour of *Berwick* forces them to raiſe the Siege, 431

The States of *Scotland* chuſe an *Inter-rex*. *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox* is elected, 432

He is made Regent, *ibid.*

He takes *Brechin*-Caſtle from *George Gordon* Earl of *Huntley*, and diſperſes his Troops, *ibid.*

The Laird of *Grange* refuſes the Regent Artillery and Ammunition, *ibid.*

Queen *Mary*'s Party obtain a Truce, 433

Several Plots are formed in *England* to free Queen *Mary*, eſpecially one in *Norfolk*, *ibid.*

The Pope cauſes a Bull againſt Queen *Elizabeth* to be fixed up in *London*, *ibid.*

John Leſley Biſhop of *Roſs*, Queen *Mary*'s Embaſſadour, is apprehended, 434

Thomas Howard Duke of *Norfolk*, is diſcharged from the *Tower*, *ibid.*

Queen

ELIZ. 1570. Queen *Elizabeth* ſends Secretary *Cecil* to make captious Propoſals to Queen *Mary*; who returns to them only a general Anſwer, and deſires that they may be communicated to the Heads of her Party in *Scotland*, Page 435

Her Adherents ſend particular Anſwers to thoſe Propoſals, *ib.* &c.

The Court of *France* is not inclined to put Queen *Mary* in Poſſeſſion of the Crowns of *England* and *Scotland*, 459

The Biſhop of *Roſs* ſollicits in vain the Pope, and the Kings of *France* and *Spain* in Queen *Mary*'s behalf, 440

Aug. *Charles* IX King of *France* grants the *Huguenots* a Peace only on purpoſe to amuſe them, 441

Catherine de Medicis propoſes to Queen *Elizabeth* a Match between her, and her Son *Charles* IX; and, upon her refuſal, ſhe propoſes her ſecond Son the Duke of *Anjou*, *ibid.*

1571. *Jan.* *William Cecil* is created Baron of *Burleigh*, *ibid.*

Feb. and *March.* A Conference is held at *London* between the two *Scotch* Factions, 442

Queen *Elizabeth* ſpins out the Affair, *ibid.*

The Conference breaks up, without any thing being done, 443

The Earl of *Lenox*, Regent of *Scotland*, takes *Dunbar* by ſurprize, 444

James Hamilton Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* is accuſed of being concerned in the late King's Murder, and hanged, *ibid.*

Queen *Elizabeth*'s Miniſters engage her to negotiate her Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*, 445

Sir *Francis Walſingham* is ſent Embaſſadour to *France*, 446

March. A Negotiation about the Marriage begins to be ſet on foot; both Parties equally diſſemble, 447

They cannot agree upon the Article of Religion, 450

May. Queen *Mary*'s Party becomes Maſter of *Edinburgh*, 460

ELIZ. 1571 The Heads of that Party conveen the Eſtates belonging to their Faction, Page 460

The Earl of *Lenox* aſſembles at the ſame Time thoſe of the King's Party in the Suburbs of the ſame City, *ibid.*

Aug. The Lords of this laſt Party meet again at *Sterling*, and the Queen's at *Edinburgh*, 461

The Eſtates of the Queen's Party form the Project of going and carrying away by force the Lords of the King's Party aſſembled at *Sterling*, *ibid.*

They take the Regent and the Earl of *Morton* Priſoners: But the Earl of *Marr* ſallying out of the Caſtle with the Garriſon, compels them to retire, *ibid.*

The Earl of *Morton* eſcapes, *ibid.*

Matthew Stuart Earl of *Lenox*, the Regent, is murdered in cold Blood, *ibid.*

John Areskin Earl of *Marr*, is choſen Regent, *ibid.*

Sept. The Negotiation about Queen *Elizabeth*'s Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou* breaks off, 452

Queen *Mary* diſpatches *Ridolpho* to the Pope and the King of *Spain*, to implore their Aſſiſtance, 453

The Duke of *Norfolk* is ingaged again in Queen *Mary*'s Intereſt, and reſumes the Project of marrying her, *ibid.*

Ridolpho's Intrigues are partly diſcovered, by Letters ſent by him to *England*, *ibid.*

Leſley Biſhop of *Roſs* is arreſted, 354

17. The Court diſcovers the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Deſigns; and he is committed again to the *Tower*, 455

The Duke confeſſes part of what he was accuſed of, 456

The Biſhop of *Roſs* is brought before the Council, and charged with having attempted to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, 457

He is ſent to the *Tower*, and examined, *ibid.*

Queen *Elizabeth* informs the Court of *France* of the Reaſons that induced her to commit the Duke of *Norfolk* to the *Tower*, 458

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ELIZ. 1571. The Parliament passes a very remarkable Act to maintain the Queen's Title, Page 459
Charles IX caresses mightily the *Huguenots*, 462
He concludes a Marriage with the Princess *Margaret* his Sister, and the King of *Navarre*, 463
Queen *Elizabeth* refuses to assist *William* Prince of *Orange*, *ibid.*
1572. Jan. 6. The Duke of *Norfolk* is condemned to die, as guilty of High-Treason, *ibid.*
Walter d'Evereux is created Earl of *Essex*, *Edward Clinton* High-Admiral, Earl of *Lincoln*. And *John Powlet*, *Henry Compton*, *Henry Cheney*, and *Henry Norris* made Barons, 465
A Statute is enacted, making it Death to go about to deliver a Prisoner condemned for High-Treason, *ibid.*
April. A League Offensive and Defensive is negotiated at *Blois* between *England* and *France*, 468---471
June 5. *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk* is executed, 465
7. Queen *Elizabeth* sends some Privy-Counsellors to examine *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, 466
17. She swears to the League with *France*, 471
The *Massacre of* St. *Bartholomew*, wherein Admiral *Chatillon* and the *Huguenots* are butchered at *Paris*, *ibid.*
Charles IX offers to Queen *Elizabeth* to renew the League with a fresh Oath; proposes a Match between her and the Duke of *Alenson*; and desires her to stand Godmother to his Daughter, 474
The Queen consents only to the last, *ibid.*
Thomas Piercy Earl of *Northumberland*, is betrayed by the Earl of *Morton*, and beheaded, 475
William Poulet Marques of *Winchester*, and Lord-Treasurer, dies, *ibid.*
The Court of *France* is suspected by Queen *Elizabeth*, with regard to *Scotland*, 476
Charles IX sollicits her to send the Queen of *Scots* into *France*, *ibid.*

Eliz. 1572. The Count *de la Marck* takes the *Brille* in *Holland*, Page 480

The whole Province of *Holland* throws off the *Spaniſh* Yoke, as do alſo ſeveral Towns in *Zealand*, *ibid.*

The Duke of *Medina-Celi* ſent to *Spain* with a Fleet, is defeated by the Confederates, *ibid.*

Lewis Count of *Naſſaw* ſurprizes *Mons*, *ibid.*

The Succours ſent by *Charles* IX to the Count of *Naſſaw* are defeated by the Duke of *Alva*, 480

Sept. 19. *Mons* is retaken by that Duke, *ibid.*

Frederico de Toledo, his Son, takes *Zutphen*, *Naarden*, and other Places, *ibid.*

The Earl of *Marr* Regent of *Scotland*, enters into Negotiation with Queen *Mary*'s Party, 478

Oct. *John Areskin* Earl of *Marr*, dies, *ibid.*

Nov. 24. *James Dowglaſs* Earl of *Morton* is choſen Regent in his room, 479

He is entirely devoted to *England*, *ibid.*

The Court of *France* ſends *Verac* into *Scotland*, with Money to ſupport Queen *Mary*'s Party; and tries to ruin the Earl of *Morton*, *ibid.*

1573. A Marriage is propoſed again between Queen *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Alenſon*, 481

The Count of *Montgomery* ſails from *England* with Succours for *Rochelle*, 482

Queen *Elizabeth* evades the Complaints made to her about it, *ibid.*

The Regent of *Scotland* ſigns a Treaty of Peace with the Duke of *Chateleraud*, the Earls of *Huntley*, and *Argyle*, and moſt of the reſt of the Queen's Party, 483

The States of the Kingdom ratify it, 484

The Laird of *Grange*, Governour of *Edinburgh*-Caſtle, is not included in the Treaty: He offers to ſurrender up the Caſtle, *ibid.*

Queen *Elizabeth* makes a Treaty with the Regent, 485

ELIZ. 1573. She sends Troops and Artillery into *Scotland*, Page 486
Edinburgh is besieged and taken, *ibid.*
The Laird of *Grange*, and some others are hanged, *ibid.*
Lidington dies in Prison, *ibid.*
Verac is forced by a Storm into *Scarborough*, and sent to *London*, 487
Queen *Catharine de Medicis* discovers herself to *Walsingham* about the Queen of *Scots*, before she was aware, 488
John Lesley Bishop of *Ross* is driven out of *England*, 489
The Court of *France* presses Queen *Elizabeth* about her Marriage with the Duke of *Alenson*, *ibid.*
June 25. The Siege of *Rochelle* is raised, 490
The Duke of *Anjou* is chosen King of *Poland*, *ibid.*
Queen *Elizabeth* refuses a Visit from the Duke of *Alenson*, *ibid.*
Walter d'Evereux Earl of *Essex*, obtains Leave to go and conquer the Country of *Clandeboy* in *Ireland* at his own Expence; but has no Success, because he was privately crossed by the Earl of *Leicester*, 491
1574. *Catharine de Medicis* orders a Guard to be set upon the Duke of *Alenson* and the King of *Navarre*, *ibid.*
May 30. *Charles* IX, King of *France* dies, *ibid.*
The Duke of *Anjou* King of *Poland*, succeeds him by the Name of *Henry* III, *ibid.*
The Confederates in the *Low-Countries* seize *Middleburgh*, 492
Lewis Count of *Nassau* is defeated upon the Heath of *Moker*, and slain, with *Henry* his Brother, and *Christopher* Count *Palatine*, *ibid.*
The *Spanish* Troops mutinying surprize and plunder *Antwerp*, *ibid.*
Charles Stuart Earl of *Lenox* marries *Elizabeth Cavendish*, *ibid.*
1575. *Henry* III makes War against the *Huguenots*, *ibid.*
He renews with Queen *Elizabeth* the League of *Blois*, *ib.*

Queen

Eliz. 1575. Queen *Elizabeth* ſupplies underhand the Prince of *Condé* with Money, to pay the Army Prince *Caſimir* Count *Palatine* was levying for the *Huguenots*, Page 493

A Tumult ariſes on the Borders of *Scotland* between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*; but is appeaſed, *ibid.*

James Humilton Duke of *Chateleraud* dies, *ibid.*

1576. *Walter d'Evereux* Earl of *Eſſex* dies in *Ireland*. The Earl of *Leiceſter* privately marries his Widow, Daughter of Sir *Robert Knolles*, 494

Lewis de Zuniga Commander of *Requeſens*, and Governour of the *Low-Countries* dies, *ibid.*

The Town of *Aloſt* is ſacked by the *Spaniſh* Soldiers, who mutiny, *ibid.*

A League is concluded at *Bruſſels* to expel the *Spaniſh* Troops, 495

The rebellious *Spaniſh* Soldiers plunder *Maſtricht* and *Antwerp*, *ibid.*

The Union, or *Pacification of Ghent* is formed, *ibid.*

The Duke of *Alenſon* draws together an Army in favour of the *Huguenots*, 496

May 9. The King of *France* grants them an advantagious Peace, *ibid.*

Oct. 1. The Duke of *Alenſon* is drawn off from the *Huguenots*, and takes the Title of Duke of *Anjou*, *ibid.*

The Beginning of the League, or *Holy Union*, 497

1577. *Jan.* *Don John of Auſtria* comes into the *Low-Countries*, 498

A perpetual Edict is publiſhed for driving the *Spaniſh* Troops out of the *Low-Countries*, 449

Don John ſurprizes the Caſtle of *Namur*, *ibid.*

The Archduke *Matthias* is elected Governour-General of the United Provinces; and the Prince of *Orange* declared his Lieutenant, *ibid.*

The States declare War againſt *Don John*, 500

They ſend an Embaſſy to Queen *Elizabeth*, who lends them an hundred Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, *ibid.*

She

Eliz. She writes to King *Philip* II, to excuſe herſelf for
1577. lending the *United Provinces* Money, Page 501
The *Huguenots* of *France* enter into a *Counter-League*, *ibid.*
The Edict of Pacification being revoked, Hoſtilities are renewed on both Sides, *ibid.*
King *Henry* III, grants a Peace to the *Huguenots*, *ib.*
1578. Pope *Gregory* XIII, wants to help his natural Son *Jacomo Boncompagno* to the Crown of *Ireland*, 502
Thomas Stukely, an *Engliſh* Fugitive, perſwades the Pope, and *Philip* II, King of *Spain*, to undertake the Conqueſt of that Kingdom, *ibid.*
The Pope gives him Men and Ships, with which he ſails from *Civita Vecchia*, and comes to *Lisbon*, 503
Don *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*, prevails upon him to accompany him to *Africa*, in his Expedition againſt the *Moors*, *ibid.*
Don *Sebaſtain* and *Stukely* are both ſlain at the Battle of *Alcazar*, *ibid.*
Several Companies of *Engliſh* Volunteers go and ſerve the States of the *United-Provinces*, *ibid.*
Don *John* defeats the Army of the *States* at the Battle of *Gemblours*, and takes ſeveral Places from them, *ibid.*
The *States* reject a Peace offered to them by *Philip* II, *ibid.*
The City of *Amſterdam* joins with the Confederates, 504
The Government of that City, as alſo of *Harlem*, *Utrecht*, and other Places, is put into the Hands of the Reformed, *ibid.*
The Duke of *Anjou* is choſen *Protector of the Belgick Liberties*, *ibid.*
Diviſions ariſe among the Confederates, 505
The Duke of *Anjou* and Prince *Caſimir* bring them Succours, which through their Diſſentions, become of no Service to them, *ibid.* and 506
The Duke of *Anjou* returns to *France*, *ibid.*
Prince *Caſimir* comes over into *England*, *ibid.*

Don

ELIZ.
1578. Oct. 1. Don *John* of *Auſtria* dies. The Prince of *Parma* takes upon him the Command of his Army, Page 506

The Duke of *Anjou* preſſes his Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*; ſhe receives his Envoys in a very kind and civil mannner, 507

The Earls of *Argyle* and *Athol*, being diſſatisfied with the Regent of *Scotland*, perſwade King *James* VI, to take the Reins of the Government, 509

The young King ſends Queen *Elizabeth* Notice of his having taken the Government into his own Hands: *ibid.*

He demands of her at the ſame Time the Eſtate belonging to his Grandfather *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, and deſires her to renew the Alliance with *Scotland*, *ibid.*

Queen *Elizabeth* evades his Demands, 510

The Earl of *Morton* becomes Maſter of *Sterling*, and of the King's Perſon, and reſumes his Authority, 511

The Earl of *Athol*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, dies, *ib.*

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1579. Prince *Caſimir* is careſſed in an extraordinary manner by Queen *Elizabeth*. He is made Knight of the Garter, Page 1

Simier the *French* Envoy, promotes the Duke of *Anjou*'s Marriage, and tries to ruin the Earl of *Leiceſter*, 2

A Piſtol is fired in the Queen's Barge, when ſhe was on the *Thames* with *Simier* and others, 3

The Duke of *Anjou* comes and pays a Viſit to Queen *Elizabeth incognito*, *ibid.*

Eſme Stuart Baron of *Aubigny*, and *James Stuart* of *Oghiltry*, King *James*'s two Favourites, ſet him againſt the Earl of *Morton*, and try to make him fall out with *England*, 4

Negotiations for a Peace in the *Low-Countries*, are ſet on Foot at *Cologne*, and come to nothing, *ibid.*

The *Union* of *Utrecht* is formed, *ibid.*

ELIZ. 1579. The Prince of *Parma* takes *Maſtricht*: *Mechlin*, *Liſle*, and *Valenciennes* declare afterwards for him, Page 5

1580. January } Queen *Elizabeth* forbids by a Proclamation any new Houſes to be built within three Miles of the Gates of the City of *London*, *ibid.*

Four Prieſts ſent to *England* from the *Engliſh* Seminaries at *Rhiems* and *Rome*, are executed, 6

Robert Parſons and *Edmund Campian* Jeſuits, come to preach Sedition in *England*, being the two firſt of that Order that were ſent into the Kingdom, *ibid.*

The Queen iſſues out a Proclamation, commanding all thoſe who had any Children beyond Sea, to call them home, 7

Seven Hundred *Spaniards* and *Italians*, ſent by the Pope and *Philip* II, land in *Ireland*, under the Command of *San Joſepho*, and build a Fort there, *ibid.*

They are forced to ſurrender at Diſcretion; and all the *Spaniards* are put to the Sword, and the *Iriſh* that had joined them, hanged, 8

Novem. *Francis Drake* returns to *England* from his Voyage round the World, *ibid.*

Bernardine de Mendoza the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador makes great Complaints againſt *Drake*, *ibid.*

The Queen repays part of the Treaſure *Drake* had taken from the *Spaniards*, 9

Henry Fitz-Allen Earl of *Arundel*, dies, *ibid.*

The Religious War is renewed in *France*, and ended by a ſixth Treaty of Peace, *ibid.*

Philip II, takes Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Portugal*, vacant by the Death of King *Henry*: *Don Antonio* Prior of *Crato*, endeavours to diſpute the Crown with him, but in vain, *ibid.*

Eſme Stuart Baron of *Aubigny*, is made Duke of *Lenox*, and *James Stuart* Earl of *Arran*, 10

Queen *Elizabeth* ſends Sir *Robert Bowes* into *Scotland* to accuſe the Duke of *Lenox* of holding with *France* Intelligence deſtructive of *Scotland* and *England*, *ib.* *Bowes* is ill received, 10

Queen

Eliz. Queen *Elizabeth* refuſes Audience to the Lord *Humes*,
1580. ſent into *England* by King *James*, to clear his Favourite, the Earl of *Lenox*, Page 10
The Earl of *Morton* is accuſed of having been concerned in the late King's Murder, and ſent to Priſon, *ibid.*
1581. *Randolph* is ſent by Queen *Elizabeth* to ſollicite in the Earl of *Morton*'s behalf, but not being able to obtain any Thing, he tries in vain to ſtir up a Rebellion in *Scotland*, 11
The Queen ſends Troops towards the Borders, *ibid.*
James Douglaſs Earl of *Morton* is beheaded, *ibid.*
King *James*'s two Favourites become odious to the People, 12
The Articles of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou* are agreed upon, *ibid.*
The Duke of *Anjou* is made Sovereign of the *United-Provinces*, 15
Philip II, is declared to have forfeited the Sovereignty of the *Netherlands*, *ibid.*
Auguſt. The Duke of *Anjou* conſtrains the Prince of *Parma* to raiſe the Siege of *Cambray*, *ibid.*
Queen *Elizabeth* ſtarts Difficulties about her Marriage; and requires that a League Offenſive and Defenſive ſhould be concluded between *England* and *France*, *ibid.*
The Duke of *Anjou* arrives in *England*, where he is received with great Honour and Civilities, 17
Queen *Elizabeth* pulls a Ring from her Finger, and puts it on his, *ibid.*
She alters her Conduct with regard to him, and retracts all ſhe had done, *ibid.* and 18
Edmund Campian the Jeſuit, and three other Prieſts, are put to Death, 19
Don Antonio of *Portugal*, retires into *France*, and then into *England*, 20
1582. *Jann.* The Parliament meets, *ibid.*
The furious Zeal and Imprudence of the Catholicks in *England*, obliges the Parliament to enact very ſevere Laws againſt them, *ibid.*

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1582. Febru. The Duke of *Anjou* leaves Queen *Elizabeth*, Page 21
He is crowned Duke of *Brabant* at *Antwerp*, *ibid.*
Queen *Elizabeth* is in a State of Uncertainty, and relies entirely on the Affection of her Subjects, 22
She ſends the Order of the Garter to *Frederick* II, King of *Denmark*, 23
Henry III, King of *France* warns Queen *Elizabeth* of the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Deſign in Favour of Queen *Mary* of *Scots*, *ibid.*
The *Ruthven* Conſpiracy is formed in *Scotland*: The Conſpirators ſecure the King's Perſon, and expell the two Favourites, 24
Queen *Mary* agrees to make her Son Partner with her in the Royal Authority, 25
Pope *Gregory* XIII, reforms the *Calendar*, *ibid.*
1583. Queen *Elizabeth* pretends to be willing to releaſe *Mary* Queen of *Scots*: She ſends to her ſome Articles to amuſe her, 26
Eſme Stuart Duke of *Lenox*, withdraws into *France*, and dies, 28
King *James* having declared in a Convention of the *States*, that whatever the Lords of *Ruthven* had done was with his Conſent, is ſet at Liberty, *ibid.*
He recalls *James Stuart* Earl of *Arran*, 29
This Favourite adviſes him to puniſh the Lords of *Ruthven*, notwithſtanding the General Pardon granted to them; whereupon thoſe Lords are forced to quit the Court, *ibid.*
Queen *Elizabeth* ſends Sir *Francis Walſingham* to give King *James* Advice about the Management of his Affairs: The Ambaſſador brings back no very ſatisfactory Anſwer, 30
The Duke of *Anjou* attempts to ſeize on one and the ſame Day, *Antwerp*, and ſeven or eight other Towns of the *Netherlands*, but miſcarries. He is forced to retire into *France*, 31
1584. A Conſpiracy is formed in *Scotland* againſt *James Stuart* Earl of *Arran*: The Conſpirators take *Sterling*, 32

The

Eliz. 1584. The Earl of *Gowry*, who was in the Plot, being apprehended, the Conſpirators are diſheartened, and leave the Kingdom, Page 33

William Ruthven Earl of *Gowry* is beheaded at *Edinburgh*, *ibid.*

Queen *Elizabeth* ſends *Daviſon* into *Scotland* to win the Earl of *Arran* to her Intereſts: He ſucceeds in his Negotiation, *ibid.*

William Carey Lord *Hunſdon*, for *England*, and *James Stuart* Earl of *Arran*, for *Scotland*, meet upon the Borders, and make a private Treaty, whereby the Earl of *Arran* engaged to keep the King unmarried for three Years, *ibid.*

Queen *Elizabeth* diſcovers Queen *Mary*'s Secrets by means of the Maſter of *Gray*, Ambaſſador from *Scotland*, 34

A Conſpiracy is diſcovered in favour of Queen *Mary*. *Francis Throgmorton* is arreſted. The Lord *Paget*, and *Charles Arundel* fly into *France*, 35

Several Books are handed about, wherein Queen *Elizabeth* is ſlandered to the higheſt Degree, and taxed with having put many *Catholicks* to Death without Cauſe, *ibid.*

She blames the Judges for their Severity; they affirm that no Perſon had been made to ſuffer for his Religion, but only for dangerous Practices againſt the State, 36

Queen *Elizabeth* forbids the putting any Perſon to the Rack; and orders ſeventy Prieſts to be tranſported out of *England*, ſome of whom were under Sentence of Death, *ibid.*

Mendoza the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador is diſcovered to have been in the Plot for freeing Queen *Mary*, 37

He is deſired to come before the Council; where making but a poor Defence, He is ordered to depart the Kingdom, *ibid.* and 38

The Queen ſends to inform King *Philip* of it, who refuſes to give her Ambaſſador Audience, *ibid.*

Francis Throgmorton is executed, *ibid.*

Queen

ELIZ. 1584. Queen *Elizabeth* renews the Negotiation with *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, Page 38
The Negotiation is broken of 39
Another Plot is diſcovered between the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, for invading *England*, 40
A General Aſſociation of Men of all Degrees and Conditions is formed in *England*, to proſecute to the Death all thoſe that ſhould attempt any Thing againſt the Queen, *ibid.*
Queen *Mary* ſends ſome Propoſals to Queen *Elizabeth*, who rejects them, 40---42
Mary Queen of *Scots* is committed to the Cuſtody of Sir *Drugeon Drury*, 42
The Prince of *Orange* is aſſaſſinated by *Balthazar Gerrard*. The *States* confer the Government of *Holland* and *Zealand* on *Maurice* his ſecond Son, 43
The Duke of *Parma* lays Siege to *Antwerp*, *ibid.*
The *States* reſolve to put themſelves under the Protection of *France*: King *Henry* III, refuſes to accept of their Offer, 43
They apply to Queen *Elizabeth*, *ibid.*
Charles Nevil Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, dies, *ibid.*
June. The Duke of *Anjou* dies, 44
The Duke of *Guiſe* renews the *League*, *ibid.*
Dec. 31. He ſigns a private League with the King of *Spain*, to exclude *Henry* of *Bourbon* King of *Navarre*, and to raiſe the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to the Throne, after the Death of *Henry* III, *ibid.*
1585. *William Parry*'s Plot to kill Queen *Elizabeth* is diſcovered, 45
He is executed, 46
The Parliament confirms the General Aſſociation, *ib.*
It is enacted that Twenty-four Commiſſioners, choſen by the Queen, ſhould make Inquiſition concerning thoſe who ſhould endeavour to raiſe a Rebellion in the Kingdom, or attempt the Queen's Life, or claimed any Right to the Crown of *England*, *ibid.*

ELIZ. 1585. Another ſevere Act is paſſed againſt the Papiſts, Page 47

Philip Howard Earl of *Arundel*, is apprehended as he was going out of the Kingdom, and committed to the Tower, 48

Henry Percy Earl of *Northumberland*, ſhoots himſelf in the Tower, 49

Queen *Elizabeth* ſends Sir *Thomas Bodley* into *Germany*, and *Denmark*, to endeavour to perſwade the *Proteſtant* Princes to make a League Defenſive with *England*, 51

She ſends *Edward Wotton* into *Scotland*, to break the Match between King *James* and the King of *Denmark*'s eldeſt Daughter, *ibid.* and 52

Francis Lord *Ruſſel* is killed on the Borders of *Scotland*, 53

The Earl of *Arran* is confined to his Houſe for it, *ib.*

Queen *Elizabeth* demands a ſolemn Reparation for that Murder, *ibid.*

She permits the *Scotch* Fugitives to return to *Scotland*, *ibid.*

Edward Wotton forms the Project to carry King *James* away to *England*: He miſſes his Aim, and flies, 54

The Fugitive Lords, upon their Return to *Scotland*, ſeize the King's Perſon, and are reſtored to their Eſtates, *ibid.*

James Stuart Earl of *Arran*, eſcapes their Hands, *ib.*

Colonel *Stuart* begins a Treaty at *Copenhagen*, about King *James*'s Marriage, *ibid.*

Queen *Elizabeth* refuſes the Sovereignty of the *United-Provinces* offered her by the States, 55

She makes a Treaty with them, whereby ſhe engages to ſend them Succours; and for Security of her being reimburſed, *Fluſhing*, *Rammekins*, and the *Brill* are delivered to her, *ibid.*

Robert Dudley Earl of *Leiceſter*, is appointed General of the *Engliſh* Auxiliary Forces, 56

Queen *Elizabeth* publiſhes a Manifeſto, to juſtify her Conduct in aſſiſting the *States*, *ibid.*

She

ELIZ. 1585. She ſends a Fleet into *America* againſt the *Spaniards*, Page 56

The *Engliſh* Fleet takes St. *Jago*, one of the *Cape Verd* Iſlands, the Capital of St. *Domingo*, and *Carthagena*; and burns St. *Antonio*, and St. *Helena* in *Florida*. They return to *England* with a very large Booty, *ibid.*

Ralph Lane brought the firſt *Tobacco* to *England*, 57

John Davis diſcovers a new Streight in the *Northern*-Seas, under the Polar Circle, *ibid.*

Henry III, is compelled by the Intrigues of the Duke of *Guiſe*, to forſake the Duke of *Navarre*, to publiſh an Edict againſt the *Huguenots*, and to join with the Duke in extirpating them, 58

The Prince of *Condé* is forced to fly into *England*, *ibid.*

Queen *Elizabeth* ſupplies him with fifty Thouſand Crowns, and lends him ten Ships, with which he raiſes the Blockade of *Rochelle*, 59

April. Pope *Gregory* XIII, dies: *Sixtus* V, ſucceeds him. He excommunicates the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condé*, *ibid.*

1586. *January* } The Earl of *Leiceſter* arrives in *Holland*, and is declared by the *States* Governour and Captain-General of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and the *United-Provinces*, 59

Queen *Elizabeth* complains bitterly to the *States* for inveſting the Earl with that Title, and gives him a Reprimand for accepting of it, *ibid.*

The Earl forms Projects deſtructive of the Liberties of the *United-Provinces*, 60

He returns to *England*, *ibid.*

Queen *Elizabeth* propoſes to King *James* a League for the Defence of Religion, *ibid.*

The *French* Ambaſſador uſes all his Endeavours to diſſuade the King from that League, 62

A Treaty of Alliance and ſtrict Friendſhip between the two Crowns is ſigned at *Berwick*, *ibid.*

ELIZ. 1586. A Conſpiracy is diſcovered againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, Page 64, &c.

Queen *Mary* writes to *Babington*, one of the Conſpirators, 66

Six Perſons engage with him to aſſaſſinate Queen *Elizabeth*, 67

Some Letters paſs between Queen *Mary* and the Conſpirators, *ibid.*

Gifford diſcovers the whole Conſpiracy to *Walſingham*, who makes uſe of him to deliver Queen *Mary*'s Letters, and bring back her Anſwers, 68

All the Conſpirators are apprehended at the ſame Time; they impeach one another, and diſcover the whole Buſineſs, 69

Queen *Mary*'s Papers are all ſeized; and her two Secretaries, *Nawe*, and *Curle*, are apprehended, and conducted to *London*, 70

An Artifice is uſed to get ſeveral Papers relating to Queen *Mary*, out of the *French* Ambaſſador's Hands, *ibid.*

Fourteen of the Conſpirators are executed, 71

Queen *Elizabeth* ſends Sir *Edward Wotton* to the King of *France*, with authentick Copies of Queen *Mary*'s Letters, *ibid.*

The Court reſolves to try and condemn Queen *Mary*, *ibid.*

Queen *Elizabeth* appoints Commiſſioners for that purpoſe, 72

Oct. 11. Her Commiſſion is notified to the Queen of *Scots*, 74

Queen *Mary* refuſes to own the Authority of the Judges, 75

She is prevailed upon at laſt to plead, *ibid.*

The Judges meet in the Hall of *Fotheringhay*-Caſtle; and Queen *Mary* appears before them, 76

She puts herſelf upon her Tryal, *ibid.* &c.---84

She requires to be heard in full Parliament, or before the King and Council, 85

The Court adjourns at *Weſtminſter*, *ibid.*

25. It meets again in the *Star-Chamber*, and pronounces Sentence againſt Queen *Mary*. It contained in general,

ELIZ. 1586. neral, that *Mary* had broken the Statute paſſed laſt Year, Page 89
The Judges declare that the Sentence paſſed againſt Queen *Mary* did not prejudice the Rights of King *James* her Son, 90
Oct. 29. The Parliament meets, and confirms the Sentence, *ibid.*
They petition Queen *Elizabeth* to put it in Execution, *ibid.*
She returns an Anſwer, the Drift whereof was to let them know that ſhe was extremely troubled and toſſed with Doubts, 91
She deſires the two Houſes to find out ſome Expedient, whereby the Queen of *Scot*'s Life might be ſaved, and her own Safety provided for, 96
Both Houſes inſiſt upon their Demand, *ibid.*
The Queen Anſwers them in a Speech of the ſame Nature as her former, 97
The Parliament is prorogued, 101
Queen *Mary* is informed of her Sentence; ſhe receives the News of it with great Firmneſs of Mind, *ibid.*
L' Aubeſpine, the *French* Ambaſſador, ſollicits in vain in her behalf, 102
The Sentence paſſed againſt her is publiſhed in *London*, and throughout the Kingdom, *ibid.*
Queen *Mary* writes to Queen *Elizabeth*, deſiring of her certain Favours about her Death, Burial, and Domeſticks, *ibid.*
James King of *Scotland* interceeds for his Mother, but to no purpoſe. *ibid.*
Henry III, King of *France* ſends an Ambaſſador to intreat ſeemingly Queen *Elizabeth* in Queen *Mary*'s behalf; but privately to ſollicite her Death: As the Maſter of *Gray*, ſent by King *James*, had done before, 103
1587. *L' Aubeſpine* the *French* Ambaſſador bribes two Aſſaſſins to murder Queen *Elizabeth*, *ibid.*
The People loudly call for Queen *Mary*'s Death, 104
Queen *Elizabeth* delivers to Secretary *Daviſon* a Writing ſigned with her own Hand, commanding him

ELIZ. 1587. to draw up a Warrant under the Great-Seal for the Queen of *Scots* Execution; but withal ſhe enjoyns him to acquaint no Man therewith, Page 106

She ſends him Word not to draw the Warrant; whereupon being told that it was drawn and under Seal already, ſhe is angry, and blames *Daviſon* for making ſuch haſte. Mean while ſhe leaves the Warrant in his Hands, *ibid.*

Daviſon, puzzled at the Queen's contrary Proceedings, imparts what was done to one of the Council, who informs the reſt of the Counſellors of the Matter, *ibid.*

The Council unanimouſly reſolves to put the Warrant in Execution. It is given to *Beal*, who ſets out for *Fotheringhay*, with two Executioners, 106

After *Beal*'s Departure, the Queen tells *Daviſon* ſhe had changed her Mind; and yet no care is taken to call *Beale* back, though there was ten Days between his Departure, and Queen *Mary*'s Execution, 107

Feb. 8. *Mary Stuart*, Queen of *Scotland* is beheaded, *ibid.*

Queen *Elizabeth* appears extremely concerned at it, 108

She drives the Privy-Counſellors from her preſence, and commands them to be examined in the Star-Chamber, 109

Writes a Letter to King *James* to clear herſelf, *ibid.*

Cauſes *Daviſon* to be tried for Contempt and Diſobedience to her Orders, *ibid.*

He is condemned to a Fine of ten Thouſand Pounds, and to be impriſoned during the Queen's Pleaſure, 110

King *James* was at firſt for revenging the Death of the Queen his Mother; but the great Dependance he had upon Queen *Elizabeth* ſoon ſtifles his Reſentment, 114

The

ELIZ. 1587. The Queen ſends Sir *Francis Drake* with a Fleet againſt *Spain*; who doth that Kingdom infinite Damage, Page 115, 116

Cavendiſh does the ſame in *America*, along the Coaſts of *Chili* and *Peru*, 116

The States of the *United-Provinces* ſend Ambaſſadors to *England*, to complain of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, *ibid.*

They give the Command of their Army to Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, 117

The Earl of *Leiceſter* returns to *Holland* to make the Duke of *Parma* raiſe the Siege of *Sluys*, and does not ſucceed, *ibid.*

He attempts to make himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Places at once; but his Attempt upon *Leyden* being diſcovered, the Queen is obliged to recall him home, *ibid.*

Peregrine Bartu Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, is ſent in his Room, but with no other Authority than the Command of the *Engliſh* Troops, *ibid.*

Philip II, King of *Spain*, prepares to invade *England*, *ibid.*

Queen *Elizabeth* accepts of a Mediation propoſed by him for a Peace between *Spain* and the *Netherlands*, 118

Negotiations are ſet on Foot for that purpoſe; but the Preparations that were making in *Spain* cauſe them to be broken off *ibid.*

Pope *Sixtus* V, ſides with *Philip* II, againſt *England*, 119

He thunders out a Bull againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, abſolving her Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and giving her Kingdoms to the firſt that ſhould ſeize them, 120

Philip II, prepares againſt *England* a Fleet of an Hundred and fifty large Ships, called the *Invincible Armada*, *ibid.*

The Duke of *Parma* cauſes an Army of Thirty Thouſand Men to advance towards the Coaſt of the

Eliz. *Low-Countries*, in order to join the *Spaniſh* Fleet;
1587. and make a Deſcent in *England*, Page 120
Queen *Elizabeth* puts herſelf in a Poſture of Defence, both by Sea and Land. She carreſſes the King of *Scotland*, *ibid.* and 123
1588. May. The Barricadoes of *Paris*, 129
June 3. The Duke of *Medina-Celi* ſails out of the *Tagus* with the *Invincible Armada*; it is diſperſed by a Storm, *ibid.*
July 12. The Fleet joins again, and ſails out of the *Groyn*, 124
The *Engliſh* take ſeveral Ships from the *Spaniards*, 125
24. Both Fleets have a ſharp Engagement, wherein the Advantage is pretty near equal, *ibid.*
The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships that were ſtationed on the Coaſt of *Flanders*, hinder the Duke of *Parma* from putting to Sea, *ibid.*
27. The *Invincible Armada* comes to an Anchor off *Calais*, *ibid.*
Eight Fire-Ships ſent by the *Engliſh* Admiral amongſt the *Spaniſh Armada*, ſpread ſuch Terrour throughout the Fleet, that they cut their Cables and are diſperſed about; ſome of their Ships fall into the Hands of the *Engliſh* and *Zealanders*, 126
The *Spaniards* reſolve to return home by ſailing round *Scotland* and *Ireland*, 127
Many of their Ships are Ship-wracked on the Coaſts of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, *ibid.*
Philip receives the News of the ill Succeſs of his Fleet with an heroick Patience. But (according to others) ſwears he would be revenged, 128
Queen *Elizabeth* returns publick Thanks to God, *ib.*
Sept. 4. *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leiceſter* dies, *ibid.*
The Duke of *Parma* beſieges *Bergen-op-zoom*: The brave Defence of the Governour conſtrains him to raiſe the Siege, 129
Decem. *Henry* III, King of *France* cauſes the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his Brother the Cardinal of *Lorrain* to be aſſaſſinated, 129

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ELIZ. 1588. The King of *Denmark* being informed that King *James* had ſome Thoughts of marrying *Catharine* the King of *Navarre*'s Siſter, gives his eldeſt Daughter in Marriage to the Duke of *Brunſwick*, Page 130

1589. Jan. *George Gordon* Earl of *Huntley*, and the Earl of *Bothwel* Son of *John Prior* of *Coldingham*, form a Conſpiracy againſt *James* King of *Scotland*, 131

Philip Howard Earl of *Arundel* is condemned to dye: The Queen pardons him, *ibid.*

She perſwades Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Norris* to undertake an Expedition againſt *Spain* at their own Charge, 132

Apr. 5. They ſail from *Plymouth*, land at the *Groyn*, and carry the Lower-Town by Storm. They quit the Siege of the Upper-Town to go and meet the *Condè de Andrada*, whom they defeat, and kill three Thouſand of his Men, 133

They ſail towards *Portugal*, and take *Penicha*, which they reſtore to *Don Antonio*, *ibid.*

Norris marches by Land to *Lisbon*, and takes the Suburbs of St. *Catharine*; but *Drake* not being able to come up the *Tagus* with the Fleet, *Norris* thinks fit to retire, *ibid.*

Drake takes the Town of *Caſcais*, and blows up the Caſtle, *ibid.*

The *Engliſh* ſeize ſixty Veſſels laden with Corn belonging to the *Hans*-Towns, *ibid.*

They come and take *Vigo*, which they ſet on fire, and then return to *England*, 134

The *Hans*-Towns carry their Complaints to Queen *Elizabeth* about their Ships; ſhe maintains that they were lawful Prizes, *ibid.*

The Leaguers in *France* ſtir up almoſt the whole Kingdom to a Revolt againſt *Henry* III, who is forced to call in the King of *Navarre* and the *Huguenots* to his Aſſiſtance, *ibid.*

He lays Siege to *Paris*, 135

James Clement a *Jacobin* Fryar ſtabs him in the Belly with a Dagger, *ibid.*

Before

ELIZ. 1589. Before he expires he nominates the King of *Navarre* for his Succeſſor, who takes the Name of *Henry* IV, Page 135
The new King applies to Queen *Elizabeth*, who ſends him both Men and Money, *ibid.*
The Duke of *Mayenne* cauſes the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* to be proclaimed King, 136
King *James* marries *Ann* the King of *Denmark*'s ſecond Daughter, *ibid.*
She is forced by a Storm on the Coaſt of *Norway*, where King *James* goes to her, 137
Queen *Elizabeth* manages her Revenues with an admirable Oeconomy. 138
1590. *Henry* IV gains the Battle of *Ivry* againſt the Duke of *Mayenne*; after which he blocks up *Paris*, and takes the Suburbs, 139
The Duke of *Parma* conſtrains him to raiſe the Blockade, and then returns into the *Low-Countries*, *ibid.*
Count *Maurice* takes *Breda* by ſurprize, *ibid.*
The Duke of *Mercœur* becomes Maſter of *Bretagne* by the Help of the *Spaniards*, *ibid.*
Sir *Francis Walſingham* Secretary of State, and *Thomas Randolph* dye, 140
1591. Queen *Elizabeth* makes a Treaty with *Henry* IV, and engages to lend him Troops, 141
She ſends him three Thouſand Men, to aſſiſt him in *Bretagne* and *Picardy*, *ibid.*
Robert d'Evereux Earl of *Eſſex*, brings him four Thouſand Men more, upon Condition he ſhould beſiege *Roan* with them, 142
The King does not keep his Promiſe; whereupon the Earl of *Eſſex* returns to *England*, but leaves his Troops behind him, *ibid.*
The Queen complains of King *Henry*, who cauſes *Roan* to be inveſted, to ſatisfy her, *ibid.*
The Earl of *Eſſex* repairs to the Siege, contrary to the Queen's expreſs Orders, *ibid.*

King

Eliz. 1591. King *Henry* ſends *Du Pleſſis Mornay* to Queen *Elizabeth*, to demand a further Supply of 5000 Men; but he can obtain nothing, Page 143
The Earl of *Eſſex* returns to *England*, and pacifies the Queen, 144
The Duke of *Parma* raiſes the Siege of *Roan*, *ibid.*
Thomas Howard, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s ſecond Son, goes to the *Azores* to wait for the *Spaniſh* Plate-Fleet Homeward bound from *America*; but does not ſucceed, *ibid.*
The *Engliſh* take however ſeveral *Spaniſh* Ships, and particularly one, in which they found Two and Twenty Thouſand Indulgences for the *Spaniards* of *America*, *ibid.*
1592. Queen *Elizabeth* makes a new Treaty with *Henry* IV, 145
He deceives her, by ordering her Troops to ſerve in *Normandy*, inſtead of employing them in *Bretagne*, *ibid.*
The Earl of *Bothwel* makes a freſh Attempt to become Maſter of King *James*'s Perſon; but being diſcovered, he is forced to fly into *England*, 146
Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſets ſail for *America*, and takes a *Spaniſh* Carack with five Decks, that was coming back from the *Indies* richly laden, *ibid.*
The *Thames* dried up at *London*, ſo that a Man might ride over it, *ibid.*
The Duke of *Parma* dies, *ibid.*
1593. *Febr.* The Parliament meets, 147
It paſſes an Act againſt thoſe who neglected to be preſent at Divine Service, as eſtabliſhed by Law, *ibid.*
A very large Subſidy is granted to the Queen, 148
She ſends the Lord *Borough* to King *James* to give him Advice, 149
King *James* demands the Earl of *Bothwel*; Queen *Elizabeth* refuſes to give him up, but baniſhes him out of *England*, 150

Eliz. 1593. He has the Boldneſs to come into the King's Preſence, who, finding him ſupported by a ſtrong Party, is forced to grant him a Pardon, Page 150
King *James* is ſuſpected of favouring the *Catholicks*, *ib.*
Henry IV changes his Religion, 151
He endeavours to excuſe himſelf to Queen *Elizabeth*, who writes him a very ſharp Letter, *ib.* & 152
Henry continues to impoſe upon her, 153
The King of *Spain*'s great Preparations induce Queen *Elizabeth* to conclude a League Offenſive and Defenſive with King *Henry*, though he had given her great Reaſon to complain of him, 154
Heſquet is hanged for perſwading *Ferdinand Stanley* Earl of *Derby* to take the Title of King, *ibid.*
The Earl is poiſoned, *ibid.*
The Count *de Fuentes*, and *Don Diego d'Ibarra* govern the *Low-Countries*, after the Duke of *Parma*'s Death, 155
1594. They bribe two *Portugueſe*, and *Roderigo Lopez*, a *Jew*, Queen *Elizabeth*'s Phyſician, to poiſon her, *ib.*
Lopez and his Accomplices are executed, *ibid.*
It is diſcovered that *Ibarra* had ſuborned *Patrick Cullen*, *Edmund York*, and *Richard Williams* to aſſaſſinate her, and others to ſet the Fleet on fire, 156
Cullen is hanged, *ibid.*
The Queen complains of theſe Plots to the Archduke *Erneſt*, but has no Redreſs, 155
March 22. *Henry* IV becomes Maſter of *Paris*, and then carries the War into *Bretagne*, 156
Martin Forbiſher is killed in *Bretagne*, 157
Sir *John Norris* is recalled from thence, and ſent into *Ireland*, *ibid.*
Queen *Elizabeth* ſends the Lord *Zouch* to ſollicite King *James* to proceed againſt the Catholicks: He brings no very ſatisfactory Anſwer, *ibid.*
Bothwel enters *Scotland* with ſome Troops, and ſurprizes the Town of *Leith*, 158
He retires to the Frontiers, after having had ſome Diſadvantage in an Engagement with the King's Troops, *ibid.*

King

Eliz. 1594. King *James* alters his Conduct, and proceeds vigorouſly againſt the *Catholicks*, Page 159
1595. The Catholicks form the Project to place the Crown of *England* upon the Head of *Iſabella*, Infanta of *Spain*: *Philip* prepares to ſecond them, *ibid.*
Hugh O Neal Earl of *Tyrone* revolts in *Ireland*, 160
Henry IV demands Succours from Queen *Elizabeth*, who complains of him, and refuſes his Requeſt, *ib.*
Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* are perfectly united, 161
Febr. *Edmund York*, and *Richard Williams* are executed, 162
April. *Ferdinand de Velaſco* enters *Franche-Comte*, with an Army of eighteen thouſand Men, *ibid.*
The Count *de Fuentes* invades *Picardy*, and becomes Maſter of *Catelet*, *ibid.*
He beſieges *Dourlens*, beats the *French*, who came to its Relief, and takes the Town by Storm, *ibid.*
The *Spaniards* become Maſters of *Cambray*, 163
King *Henry* ſends *Leomenie* to Queen *Elizabeth* to demand a powerful Aid, *ibid.*
The Embaſſadour being refuſed, ſpeaks haughtily to the Queen, *ibid.*
The *Spaniards* make a Deſcent in *Cornwal*, and burn ſome Villages, 165
King *Henry* IV complains of the *States* of the *United Provinces*, which ſend him Money, Troops, and Corn, *ibid.*
Queen *Elizabeth* demands of them to be reimburſed for the Charges ſhe had been at upon their Account, 166
They make up Matters with her for a Time, *ibid.*
The *Hans*-Towns carry their Complaints againſt Queen *Elizabeth* to the Diet of the Empire, *ibid.*
Sir *Walter Raleigh* makes a ſecond Expedition into *America* at his own Charge. The Queen ſends at the ſame time twenty-ſix Ships there, under the Command of Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Hawkins*, 167
They have but little Succeſs, and the two laſt die in the Expedition, *ibid.*

A Jea-

Eliz. 1595. A Jealouſy ariſes between Sir *John Norris*, and the Lord *Ruſſel* Lieutenant of *Ireland*, Page 167
The Earl of *Tyrone* obtains a Truce, *ibid.*
1596. King *Henry* IV beſieges *La Fere*, *ibid.*
Cardinal *Albert* Archduke of *Auſtria*, beſieges *Calais*, *ibid.*
King *Henry* demands Aſſiſtance of Queen *Elizabeth*, 168
Calais and *Ardres* are taken by the *Spaniards*, *ibid.*
Queen *Elizabeth* lends King *Henry* a Sum of Money, on the Security of his Embaſſadours, *ibid.*
She fits out a Fleet againſt *Spain*, of one Hundred and Fifty Sail, among which were two and twenty *Dutch* Ships, under the Command of Sir *Charles Howard*, *ibid.*
Robert d'Evereux Earl of *Eſſex*, is appointed to command the Land-Forces, 169
June. The *Engliſh* Fleet arrives before *Cadiz*; and the *Spaniſh* Ships retire towards the *Puntal*, *ibid.*
The *Engliſh* fall upon the *Spaniſh* Ships, and force the *Spaniards* to ſink them, and eſcape to Shore, *ibid.*
The *Spaniſh* Admiral-Ship is burnt, two are taken, and moſt of the other run Aſhore, *ibid.*
The Earl of *Eſſex* with eight hundred Men, becomes Maſter of *Cadiz*, *ibid.*
Sir *Walter Raleigh* burns the *Spaniſh* Merchant-Ships lying at *Port-Real*, 170
Cadiz is burnt by the *Engliſh*, with ſome adjacent Villages, *ibid.*
The Fleet returns to *England*, and refuſes to ſail to the *Azores*, *ibid.*
Sir *Thomas Bodley* is recommended by the Earl of *Eſſex* to the Queen to be Secretary of State, 171
Sir *Robert Cecil* is made Secretary of State, and *Francis Vere* Governour of the *Brille*, *ibid.*
Queen *Elizabeth* renews her Applications to the States of the *United Provinces* for Payment of her Arrears, *ibid.*
A League Offenſive and Defenſive is concluded between *France* and *England*, 172

The

Eliz. 1596. The States of the *United Provinces* enter into this League, 173

Philip II makes another Effort to conquer *England*, and fits out a Fleet for that purpoſe: His Fleet is diſperſed by a Tempeſt, *ibid.*

1597. Jan. Prince *Maurice* defeats the *Spaniards* at the Battle of *Turnhout*, 174

March 10. *Hermand Telles Portocarrero* ſurprizes *Amiens*, *ibid.*

Queen *Elizabeth* having received Advice of an intended Expedition of the *Spaniards* againſt *Ireland*, equips a Fleet of ſix-ſcore Veſſels, under the command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, *ibid.*

They return to *England* without doing any Thing of Moment, *ibid.*

A *Spaniſh* Fleet that was ſailing towards *England*, in order to make a Deſcent upon *Cornwal*, is diſperſed by a Storm, 175

Sir *Charles Howard* is created Earl of *Nottingham*, and *Robert d'Evereux* Earl of *Eſſex* made *Earl-Marſhal*, *ibid.*

The Diſpute between *England* and the *Hanſe*-Towns is revived. Queen *Elizabeth* prohibits all Commerce between them and *England*, *ibid.*

May. King *Henry* IV reſolves to recover *Amiens*, and forms the Siege of that Place, 176

He ſummons Queen *Elizabeth* to ſend the four thouſand Men ſtipulated by the Treaty, *ibid.*

She offers to ſend them, provided he would pay them, *ibid.*

King *Henry* threatens to make a Peace without her, *ib.*

The Queen juſtifies her Conduct from the Words of the Treaty, 177

She lends King *Henry* Money inſtead of Troops, *ibid.*

Sept. *Amiens* is retaken by the *French*, *ibid.*

King *Henry* privately negotiates a Peace with *Spain*; whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* calls a Parliament, which grants her an extraordinary Supply, 178

Henry

Eliz. *Henry* makes a Peace with *Spain*, without his Allies,
1597. Page 178
They complain of it, but to no Purpoſe, 179
1598. The Queen writes to him a Letter full of Reſentment. 181
May 2. *Henry*'s Plenipotentiaries ſign a Peace at *Vervins*, without any Notice taken of his Allies, *ibid.*
June 12. He ratifies it, *ibid.*
Queen *Elizabeth* makes a new Treaty with the States of the *United Provinces*, 183
The Earl of *Tyrone* becomes very formidable in *Ireland*, 184
King *James* makes an almoſt open Demand to be declared Queen *Elizabeth*'s preſumptive Heir, *ibid.*
He writes to the Pope, *ibid.*
Edward Squire is apprehended in *London*, upon an Information of his having undertaken to deſtroy Queen *Elizabeth*, by poiſoning the Pummel of her Saddle, 185
Sept. *Philip* II King of *Spain* dies, *ibid.*
He aſſigned the Sovereignty of the *Low-Countries*, as a Portion, to the Infanta *Iſabella* his Daughter, when he married her to the Archduke *Albert*, *ib.*
Philip III his Son ſucceeds him, *ibid.*
Queen *Elizabeth* gives the Earl of *Eſſex* a Box on the Ear, 186
William Cecil Baron of *Burleigh*, Lord High-Treaſurer, *&c.* dies. *ibid.*
Thomas Sackville Lord *Buckhurſt*, ſucceeds him in his Office of High-Treaſurer, *ibid.*
1599. The Province of *Munſter* in *Ireland* revolts, *ibid.*
Robert d'Evereux Earl of *Eſſex*, is made Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 187
March. He ſets out for *Ireland* with a very numerous Army, and acts directly contrary to his Inſtructions, 189
He treats with the Earl of *Tyrone*, and grants him a Truce, 190
The Queen ſuſpects the Earl of *Eſſex* of ill Deſigns, and writes to him a very angry Letter, *ibid.*

ELIZ. 1599. *Henry Wriothesley* Earl of *Southampton*, diverts him from a Resolution he had taken of returning to *England* with the Flower of his Army, to take Revenge upon his Enemies, Page 190

He comes to *England* without Leave, to justify himself before the Queen; and defends himself very ill, 191

Is confined at the House of the Lord Keeper, 192

Writes an Apology, wherein he vindicates himself but very poorly, *ibid.*

The Earl of *Tyrone* breaks the Truce, and does great Mischief to the *English* Inhabitants in *Ireland*, *ibid.*

The Friends of the Earl of *Essex* cabal among the People in Favour of him, 193

Octob. The Queen assembles the Privy-Council, and gets them to examine the Earl's Conduct, *ibid.*

He gives himself up to Devotion, *ibid.*

The Archduke *Andrew* proposes a Peace to Queen *Elizabeth*; but only with a Design to amuse her, *ibid.*

1600. The Earl of *Tyrone* reduces the whole Province of *Ulster* to his Obedience: But *Charles Blunt*, Lord *Montjoy*, the New Lieutenant of *Ireland* stops his Progress, 194

A Conference is held at *Boulogne* for a Peace between *England* and *Spain*; but it comes to nothing, *ibid.*

July 2. Prince *Maurice* defeats the Archduke, at the Battle of the *Dunes* or *Newport*, *ibid.*

Pope *Clement* VIII sends two Briefs into *England*, one addressed to the *Romish* Clergy, and one to the People; in which he forbids them to acknowledge, after the Death of *Elizabeth*, any Prince who would not swear to support the *Popish* Religion with all his Might, 195

The *Ruthvens*, Sons to the late Earl *Gowry*, conspire to murder *James* King of *Scotland*, but he escapes, *ibid.*

ELIZ. 1600. The two *Ruthvens* are killed in the Attempt, and their Accomplices condemned to Death, Page 195
By an Act of Parliament, all who bore the Name of *Ruthven*, are obliged to quit it, *ibid.*
The Queen permits the Earl of *Essex* to retire to his own House, under the free Custody of Sir *Richard Berkley*, *ibid.*
The Earl is brought to an Examination before the Privy-Council, where he is accused of want of Respect to the Queen, and of Contempt to her Orders, 196
He owns himself guilty, and is condemned to lose some of his Places, and to be imprisoned during the Queen's Pleasure, 197
The Queen gives him full Liberty, but forbids him the Court, 198
Queen *Elizabeth* having refused him the Continuation of the Farm of the *Sweet Wines*, he forms dangerous Designs, 199
1601. He puts himself absolutely out of the Queen's Favour, 200
Writes to *James* King of *Scotland* that a Design was laid to deprive him of the Crown of *England*, and place it upon the Head of the Infanta of *Spain*, 201
He forms a Council, consisting of *Presbyterian* Ministers, of *Papists*, and Swordsmen, *ibid.*
Resolves, with his Council, to seize the Palace, and the Queen's Person, 202
The Privy-Council sends for him at the Lord-Treasurer's House, but he excuses himself from going, *ibid.*
He determines to excite an Insurrection in *London*, *ibid.*
The Queen sends to him the Lord-Keeper *Thomas Egerton*, *Edward Somerset* Earl of *Worcester*, and Sir *William Knolles*; He detains them Prisoners, 204

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ELIZ. 1601. He marches into the City to raise an Insurrection; but without Success, Page 204
Is proclaimed a Traytor, and meets with no Assistance, 205
Returns to his own House with great Difficulty; and is immediately invested by the Lord Admiral, *ib.* & 206
He surrenders; and is, with his principal Followers, committed to the *Tower*; the rest are sent to other Prisons, *ibid.*
Feb. 12. *Thomas Lee*, the Earl of *Essex*'s Creature, is hanged, *ib.*
19. *Robert d'Evereux* Earl of *Essex*, and *Henry Wriothesley* Earl of *Southampton*, are condemned to dye, 207
The Earl of *Essex* is very penitent, and discovers his Accomplices, *ibid.*
25. He is beheaded, 209
Some of his Accomplices are executed, and others pardoned, 211, 212
James King of *Scotland* sends an Embassy to Queen *Elizabeth*, 212
July. The Siege of *Ostend* is begun: Sir *Francis Vere* the Governour, and the *English* Troops under him signalize themselves, 213
Aug. King *Henry* IV comes to *Calais*: Some Compliments pass between him and Queen *Elizabeth*, *ibid.*
The Queen aboliſhes several *Monopolies*; she is thanked by the Commons for it, 214
Don *John d'Aguilar* brings the Earl of *Tyrone* Succours from *Spain*, and becomes Master of *Kingsale*, 216
Tyrone is utterly routed, and the *Spaniards* are forced to return home, *ibid.*
1602. Queen *Elizabeth* fits out a Fleet against *Spain*, under the Command of Sir *Richard Levison* and Sir *William Mounson*, *ibid.*
They take a *Spanish Carack* valued at a Million of Crowns, 217
Sept. Some Gallies commanded by *Spinola* are taken by *English* and *Dutch* Vessels, *ibid.*

Eliz. 1602. A Quarrel ariſes in *England* between the *Jeſuits* and Secular Prieſts, Page 217
A Proclamation is iſſued out againſt the *Jeſuits*, *ib.*
Henry IV cauſes the Marſhal *de Biron* to be beheaded, *ibid.*
Hugh O Neal Earl of *Tyrone*, ſubmits to Queen *Elizabeth*, 218
1602/3. Jan. Queen *Elizabeth* falls ill, *ibid.*
Her Courtiers forſake her, and go and court the Favour of the King of *Scots*. She grows melancholy, 219
She Names *James* King of *Scotland* for her Succeſſor, *ibid.*
March 21. Queen *Elizabeth* dies; after having reigned forty four Years, four Months, and eight Days, *ib.* & 220

I James I. *JAMES* I.

1602/3. March. *JAMES* VI King of *Scotland* is proclaimed at *London*, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, under the Name of *James* I, 227
Sir *Robert Carey* carries him the News of his Acceſſion to the Crown of *England*, *ibid.*
1603. April 5. King *James* ſets out from *Edinburgh* for *London*, 230
10. *Henry Wriotheſley* Earl of *Southampton*, is releaſed out of the *Tower* by the King's Order, 235
15. The King arrives at *York*, where the *Engliſh* Lords come and meet him, particularly Sir *Robert Cecil*, who had kept a Correſpondence with him during Queen *Elizabeth*'s Life, 231, 229
21. He comes to *Newark*, where he orders a Cut-Purſe to be hanged without Tryal, 232
27. King *James* arrives at *Royſton*, 234
28. The Funeral of Queen *Elizabeth* is ſolemnized, *ibid.*
King *James* refuſes to go into Mourning for her, *ibid.*

The

JAMES I.

1603. The King comes to *Theobald's*, a House of Sir *Robert*
May 4. *Cecil's*, where the Council come to pay their Respects to him, Page 232
He introduces several *Scots* into his Council, *ibid.*
Makes a great Number of Knights, 234
7. He arrives at *London*, *ibid.*
Thomas Howard is created Earl of *Suffolk*; *Henry Howard*, Earl of *Northampton*; and *Thomas*, Earl of *Arundel* and *Surrey*. *Thomas Sackville* Lord *Buckhurst* is also made Earl of *Dorset*; Sir *Robert Cecil*, Baron of *Essendun*; and *Philip Herbert*, Earl of *Montgomery*, 233, 234
A Proclamation is issued out against some Monopolies, *ibid.*
King *James* sends for his Queen and Children, 239
June. Embassadours come to *England* from the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, and from the Archduke. The *Master* of the *Ceremonies* is instituted, 240, 241
7. *Valentine Thomas* is hanged, 240
8. The Marquess *de Rosny* Embassadour from *Henry* IV comes to *London*, *ibid.*
11. The Queen arrives in *York*, *ibid.*
Charles Blunt Lord *Montjoy* returns from *Ireland*, and brings with him *Hugh O Neal* Earl of *Tyrone*, who is pardoned, *ibid.*
21. *Roger Manners* Earl of *Rutland* is sent to carry the Order of the Garter to *Christiern* King of *Denmark*, and to be King *James's* Proxy at the Christening of Prince *Christian*, *ibid.*
Robert Lord *Spencer* is sent to the Duke of *Wirtemberg* with the Order of the Garter, *ibid.*
June 23. King *James* revokes the Letters of Mart granted by Queen *Elizabeth* against the *Spaniards*, 241
27. He goes and meets the Queen, Prince *Henry*, and the Princess *Elizabeth* in *Northamptonshire*, *ibid.*
July 3. Prince *Henry* and some others receive the Order of the Garter, *ibid.*

JAMES I. *Henry Wriotheſley* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Robert*
1603. *d'Evereux* Son to the Earl of *Eſſex*, are reſtored to their Eſtates and Honours, Page 235

Sir *Thomas Egerton* is made Baron of *Elleſmere*; Sir *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penburſt*; Sir *William Knolles* Baron of *Greys*; Sir *Edward Wotton* Baron of *Morley*; Sir *William Ruſſel* Baron of *Thornhaugh*; Sir *Henry Grey* Baron of *Groby*; Sir *John Petre* Baron of *Writtle*; Sir *John Harrington* Baron of *Exton*; Sir *Henry Danvers* Baron of *Dantſey*; Sir *Thomas Gerard* Baron of *Gerard's Bromley*; and Sir *Robert Spencer* Baron of *Worm-Leighton*, *ibid.*

A Conſpiracy by *Henry Brooke* Lord *Cobham*, *George Brooke* his Brother, *Thomas* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and ſome others, to place *Arabella Stuart* on the Throne is diſcovered, and the Conſpirators are apprehended, 242

July 23. The King makes ſixty-two Knights of the *Bath*, *ibid.*

25. King *James* and his Queen are crowned, *ibid.*

A Proclamation is iſſued out, forbidding all Perſons who had any Buſineſs at Court, to repair thither till Winter, by reaſon of the Plague, 243

The Plague ſweeps away above *thirty Thouſand* Perſons in the City of *London*, *ibid.*

Nov. 4. The Conſpirators are carried to *Wincheſter*; where they are condemned to dye; and three of them are executed, 242

Dec. The Lord *Grey*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and the reſt are ſent back to Priſon, 243

In this Year 1603, there died of the Plague in *London*, 30,578 Perſons, *ibid.*

The *Papiſts* and *Puritans* preſent Petitions to the King, *ib.* & 244

1604. A Conference is held at *Hampton-Court*, between
Jan. 14. ſome Biſhops and *Presbyterian* Miniſters, at which the King preſides, 245

The

JAMES I.

1604. The King iſſues out a Proclamation, by which
Feb. 22. *Jeſuits* and *Popiſh* Prieſts were ordered to leave the Kingdom, Page 249

John Whitgift Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* dies, 248

A Proclamation againſt the *Puritans*, 250

March. Another Proclamation againſt ſundry Abuſes, ſuch as Monopolies, Salet-petre-Men, Purveyors, *&c.* *ibid.*

The 5th Day of *Auguſt* is ordered to be kept as a Holy-Day; on account of the King's Deliverance from the *Gowry*'s Conſpiracy, *ibid.*

5. The King and Queen make their Entry into *London*, 251

King *James* was perſwaded that the Parliament's and People's Priviledges were ſo many Uſurpations, or at beſt but Conceſſions of the Kings his Predeceſſors, 252

He orders, both in the Writs and the Proclamation to call the Parliament, what Repreſentatives ſhould be choſen, *ibid.*

19. The Parliament meets: The King makes a Speech to them very artfully upon the Point of Government, very obſcure as to Religion, and very plain with regard to his Deſign of uniting both Kingdoms, *ibid.*

An Act is paſſed to confirm the King's Title, 273

June 16. The Commons addreſs the King, and inform him of their Priviledges, 275

July 7. The Parliament is prorogued till the 7th of *February* 1604-5, *ibid.*

The Clergy countenance the King's Principles touching arbitrary Power, 279

The Conſtable of *Caſtile*, Plenipotentiary for *Spain*, arrives at *London*, 280

Aug. 18. A Peace is concluded between *England* and *Spain*, *ibid.*

JAMES I.

1604. *Aug.* 20. *Robert Cecil* Baron of *Eſſingdon* is created Viſcount *Cranburne*, Page 234

Sept. 20. *Oſtend* is taken by the *Spaniards*, after a Siege of three Years and three Months, 282

Octob. *Charles* Duke of *Albany* the King's ſecond Son, arrives at *Windſor*, being three Years Old, *ibid.*

24. King *James* orders himſelf to be proclaimed King of *Great-Britain*, 276

Dec. 10. *Richard Bancroft* is conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, 248

1605. *Jan.* 4. Prince *Charles*, the King's ſecond Son, is created Duke of *York*, *ibid.*

March 5. A Proclamation is iſſued out againſt Jeſuits and Seminary Prieſts, *ibid.*

And another to eſtabliſh the Diſcipline and Liturgy of the Church of *England*, *ibid.*

28. *Charles Howard* Earl of *Nottingham*, is ſent Embaſſadour Extraordinary to *Spain*, 283

Apr. 19. *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford*, is ſent Embaſſadour to *Bruſſels*, *ibid.*

May 4. *Robert Cecil* Viſcount *Cranburn*, is created Earl of *Salisbury*: *Thomas Cecil* Baron *Burleigh*, Earl of *Exeter*; and *Robert Sidney* Viſcount *Liſle*, 234

An Embaſſy arrives to *England* from the Emperour, *ibid.*

Nov. 4. The Gun-Powder-Plot is diſcovered, 285

The Parliament meets; and the King makes a Speech to them about the Plot, 294

The Parliament is prorogued to the 21ſt of *January*, 296

1605. *Jan.* 5. *Robert d'Evereux* Earl of *Eſſex* marries *Frances Howard* the Earl of *Suffolk*'s Daughter, 342

21. The Parliament meets, 298

31. Eight of the *Popiſh* Conſpirators are executed, *ibid.*

May 3. *Oldcorn*, and *Henry Garnet*, Jeſuits, are alſo executed, *ibid.*

March 22. A Report is ſpread in *London* that the King was ſtabbed, 299

The

JAMES I.

1606. *Apr.* 24. The King of *Spain* ſends an Agent to congratulate King *James*'s Preſervation from the Plot, Page 297

May 21. The Parliament enjoins the *Oath of Allegiance*, 299

The 5th of *November* is appointed to be a Day of publick Thankſgiving, 303

The Parliament grants the King a very large Subſidy, 304

27. It is prorogued to the 20th of *November*, *ibid.*

June 3. *Henry* Lord *Mordaunt*, and *Edward* Lord *Stourton*, are ſeverely fined in the *Star-Chamber*, for not diſcovering the *Gun-Powder-Plot*, 296

16. A Proclamation is iſſued out for extirpating Jeſuits and Seminary Prieſts out of the Realm, *ibid.*

27. *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, is ſent to the Tower, and fined thirty Thouſand Pounds, for being ſuppoſed to be concerned in the *Gun-Powder-Plot*, 294

July 17. *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark* comes to *London* to viſit King *James*, 305

Aug. 11. He returns back, *ibid.*

Sept. 23. The Prince of *Vaudemont*, third Son of the Duke of *Lorrain*, comes alſo to pay King *James* a Viſit, *ib.*

Oct. 21. Pope *Paul* V, ſends a Brief, forbidding the *Engliſh Catholicks* to take the Oath of Allegiance, 302

Nov. 18. The Parliament meets again, 305

The Union of the two Kingdoms is debated in it, *ib.*

Mar. 31. The King makes a Speech to both Houſes to ſhew the Neceſſity of that Union, 306

The Union is rejected, 307

July 1. The Parliament is prorogued to the 16th of *November*, 308

The Country-People riſe in Arms in *Northamptonſhire*, 309

Sept. *Hugh O Neal*, Earl of *Tyrone*, flies out of *Ireland*, *ib.*

The King publiſhes an Apology to vindicate himſelf of the Aſperſion thrown upon him, in the Motives alledged by the Earl for his Flight, *ibid.*

King *James* comes to have a Diſlike for Parliaments, 308

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JAMES I. 1607. The Parliament is further prorogued to *February* 19, 1609-10. Page 308

1608. *April.* *George Jervis* a ſeminary Prieſt, and *Thomas Garnet*, a Jeſuit, are hanged, 310

9. *Thomas Sackville* Earl of *Dorſet* and Lord Treaſurer, dies, *ibid.*

Robert Cecil Earl of *Salisbury* ſucceeds him, *ibid.*

The Sale of *Cloths*, and of *Allum*, are monopolized, 311

May 8. Diſputes ariſe between the King and the *Hollanders*, about the Fiſhery upon the Coaſt of *Great-Britain*, 312

Archbiſhop *Bancroft* perſecutes the *Puritans*: Great Numbers of them go and ſettle in *Virginia*, *ibid.*

Bancroft preſents to the King the *Articuli Cleri*, 279, 312

Negotiations are ſet on Foot for a Peace between *Spain* and the *United-Provinces*, 309

1609-10. *January* A Twelve Year's Truce is concluded between them, 313----315

Doctor *Cowell* and Doctor *Blackwood*, advance ſome Principles in Favour of the King's Arbitrary Power, 315, 316

The People are diſſatisfied with the Government, 316

The King countenances the Papiſts upon all Occaſions, *ibid.*

Feb. 19. The Parliament meets, 317

The Earl of *Salisbury* makes a Speech in the King's Name, to demand Money, *ibid.*

1610. The Houſe of *Commons* loudly complains of Grievances, 319

And particularly of the High-Commiſſion, *ibid.*

The King makes a Speech to both Houſes, wherein he advances Maxims very diſagreeable to the *Commons*, 321

May, *Henry* the King's eldeſt Son, is created Prince of *Wales*, 324

14. *Henry* IV, King of *France*, is aſſaſſinated by *Ravillac*, 325

A Pro-

JAMES I. 1610. June 4. A Proclamation is iſſued out, commanding all Jeſuits and Prieſts to depart out of the Kingdom, before the 5th of *July*, Page 326

July, The Parliament is prorogued to the 16th of *October*, 324

King *James* negotiates a Marriage between his Son the Prince of *Wales*, and the King of *Spain*'s eldeſt Daughter, 326

Richard Bancroft Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, dies. *George Abbot* Biſhop of *London* ſucceeds him, *ibid.*

Oct. 16. The Parliament meets in a Temper not at all pleaſing to the King, 327

Dec. 31. The King diſſolves the Parliament by a Proclamation, *ibid.*

1610-11. Feb. *Robert Carr*, a young *Scotch* Gentleman, about twenty Years old, becomes the King's Favourite, 329

May 22. King *James* inſtitutes the Order of *Baronets*, and creates ninety, 356

King *James* concerns himſelf in the Diſputes between the *Gomariſts*, and *Arminians* in *Holland*, 330

1612. Mar. 25. Apr. 20. *Robert Carr* is made Knight, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, Lord-Treaſurer of *Scotland*, Baron of *Branſpeth*, and Viſcount *Rocheſter*, Privy-Counſellor, and Knight of the Garter, 333

Frances Howard Counteſs of *Eſſex*, falls in Love with him, 335

May. The Body of *Mary* Queen of *Scots* is removed from *Peterborough* to *Henry* VIIth's Chappel at *Weſtminſter*, 336

June. The Lord *Sanquir*, a *Scotchman*, is hanged for killing a Fencing-Maſter, *ibid.*

July. Sir *Robert Sherly* an *Engliſhman*, comes Ambaſſador to *London*, from the Court of *Perſia*, 337

Oct. 16. *Frederick* V, *Elector-Palatine*, comes to *England*, 338

Nov. 12. *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, dies, *ibid.*

Dec. 7. His Funeral is ſolemnized, 340

The Elector *Palatine*, and Prince *Maurice* Stadtholder of *Holland*, are made Knights of the Garter, *ib.*

The

JAMES I.

1613. Feb. 14. The Elector *Palatine* marries the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, Page 340

Apr. 28. They both ſet out for *Germany*, 341

May. *Robert Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*, dies. *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Suffolk* is made High-Treaſurer in his Room, 335, 336

The Viſcount *Rocheſter* forms the Deſign of getting the Marriage between *Robert d'Evereux* Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Frances* his Counteſs, annulled; and then to marry her, 343

The Counteſs of *Eſſex* accuſes her Husband of Impotency, and deſires to be divorced from him, 349

Their Marriage is annulled, 350

Nov. 4. *Robert Carr*, Viſcount *Rocheſter*, is made Earl of *Somerſet*, 513

Dec. 26. He marries *Frances* [*Howard*] Counteſs of *Eſſex*, *ibid.*

1613. January Sir *Thomas Overbury* is poiſoned in the Tower for oppoſing this Marriage, 346---349

The new Earl of *Somerſet* leaves the Management of Affairs to the Earl of *Northampton*; who countenances the Papiſts, 353

Henry Howard Earl of *Northampton*, dies, 354

The *Presbyterians* are hindred from going to ſettle in *New-England*, *ibid.*

King *James* raiſes the Value of Gold-Coin, *ibid.*

He raiſes Money, by granting *Monopolies*, reviving obſolete Laws, (eſpecially about Knighthood,) ſelling Titles and Honours, *&c.* 357, 358

The Knights of *Nova Scotia* are created, *ibid.*

The Earl of *Somerſet* adviſes him to call a Parliament in order to get Money, 359

1614. April 5. The Parliament meets, *ibid.*

Inſtead of granting the King Money, the *Commons* examine the Grievances, *ibid.*

May. They preſent a Petition to his Majeſty, 360

June 7. The King diſſolves the Parliament, *ibid.*

Some of the Members are impriſoned, for having ſpoken their Minds, *ibid.*

King

JAMES I. 1614. King *James* exacts Money by way of Benevolence, Page 362
July 15. *Christiern* King of *Denmark* comes and pays a second Visit to the King and Queen, 363
Aug. 1. He goes back to *Denmark*, *ibid.*
The *Czar* of *Russia* sends an Ambassador to *London*, *ibid.*
The Queen resolves to ruin the Earl of *Somerset*, the King's Favourite, *ibid.*
Mr *Hugh Middleton* undertakes to bring Water from *Hertfordshire*, to the principal Parts of the City of *London*, and gets an Act of Parliament for that Purpose, 364
1615. *George Villiers* begins to be in the King's Favour, 365
He is made Cup-bearer to the King, *ibid.*
The King is disgusted with the Earl of *Somerset*, 367
He tries to procure a Pardon from his Majesty, 370
King *James* is informed of Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s being poisoned, 371
George Villiers is knighted, and made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber. The King gives him one Thousand Pounds, 369
Sept. 15. *Arabella Stuart* dies in the Tower, 378
October. The Earl and Countess of *Somerset*, together with their Accomplices, are apprehended and committed to Prison, 373
Novem. The Accomplices are condemned and executed, 374
1616. *George Villiers* engrosses the King's Affection, and rules all at Court, 379
May. The Earl and Countess of *Somerset* are condemned to dye. The King grants them a Reprieve now, their Liberty in 1621, and a full Pardon in 1624, 375----377
A Dispute arises between the King and the Judges about the *Prerogative-Royal*. The Council decides in favour ot the King, 379----382
Sir *Edward Coke* is turned out of his Place of Chief-Justice, 382
Thomas Egerton Baron of *Elsemere*, and Lord-Chancellor, delivers up the Great-Seal to the King, 383

Sir

JAMES I. 1616. Sir *Francis Bacon* is made Keeper of the Great-Seal, and afterwards High-Chancellor, Page 383

Novem. Prince *Charles* is created Prince of *Wales*. The King forms the Deſign of marrying him with the *Infanta Maria* of *Spain*, 384

June 14. King *James* delivers up the *Cautionary Towns* to the Dutch for two Millions ſeven Hundred Twenty eight Thouſand *Florins*, inſtead of eight Millions of *Florins* that were due to him, 388----390

Aug. 17. Sir *George Villiers* is created Baron of *Brandſpach*, and Viſcount *Whaddon*, 396

Thomas Howard Earl of *Suffolk*, and High-Treaſurer, is accuſed of Miſmanagement, and fined thirty Thouſand Pounds, 392

1617. Jan. 1. Sir *George Villiers* is created Earl of *Buckingham*, 396

Marco Antonio de Dominis, Ardhbiſhop of *Spalato*, comes to *England*, and embrares the Proteſtant Religion, *ibid.*

1617. *May.* King *James* reſolves to compel the *Scots* to conform to the Church of *England*; and takes a Journey to *Scotland*, 397, 399

He endeavours to introduce Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, and treats the *Scots* with great Haughtineſs, 397---402

Auguſt. He returns to *England*, 403

The *Book of Sports* is publiſhed, and ordered to be read in Churches, *ibid.*

The Favourite's Relations are loaded with Honours and Preferments. His elder Brother *John Villiers* is made Viſcount *Purbeck*, and his younger Brother *Chriſtopher*, Earl of *Angleſey*, 405

Their Mother, *Mary Beaumont*, is created Counteſs of *Buckingham*; and countenances the Papiſts, who, under her Protection, flock into the Kingdom, *ib.*

Sir *Waler Raleigh* returns from his Expedition into *America*, but without any Succeſs, 405---407

1618. The King and People complain of one another, 408, ----410

King

JAMES I. 1618. King *James* signs five Articles containing Preliminary Conventions for the Prince of *Wales*'s Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Spain*, Page 412

May. Troubles begin to arise in *Bohemia*, 414

The Emperour *Matthias* raises an Army in the *Low-Countries*, the Command of which is given to *Charles de Bucquoy*, Count *de Longueval*, 417

Oct. 29. Through the Sollicitations of *Don Diego de Sarmiento* Count of *Gondemar* the *Spanish* Ambassador, Sir *Walter Raleigh* is beheaded, in pursuance of the Sentence passed upon him in the Year 1603, 407---408

The Court of *Spain* amuses King *James*, for fear he should interpose in the Affairs of *Bohemia*, 417

1618. *Henry Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, is released out of the Tower, by means of the Lord *Hayes* his Son-in-law, 419

Mar. 1. Queen *Ann* dies of a Dropsy, *ibid.*

The King is seized with a great Illness, *ibid.*

20. The Emperour *Matthias* dies, 420

Ferdinand of *Austria*, his Cousin and adopted Son, is proclaimed King of *Bohemia*, *ibid.*

1619. *Aug.* 18. He is elected Emperour, *ibid.*

Aug. 26. *Frederick* V, Elector *Palatine*, and King *James*'s Son-in-law, is chosen King of *Bohemia*, 421

King *James* is very angry with him, for accepting the Crown, and uses his utmost Endeavours to perswade him to quit it, 423

The Court of *Spain* continues to amuse King *James* about the Marriage, 424

1620. He desires to be Umpire between *Ferdinand* and *Frederick*, but cannot succeed, *ibid.*

Philip III, King of *Spain*, raises an Army in the *Netherlands* to invade the *Palatinate*. King *James* suffers himself to be amused by *Spinola*, 425, 426

He is, with much ado, prevailed upon to suffer a Regiment of two Thousand four Hundred Men to go over into the *Palatinate*, under the Command of Sir *Horatio Vere*; who is accompanied by *Henry de Vere*

JAMES I. 1620. *Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, and *Robert d' Evreux* Earl of *Essex*, Page 427
Oct. 1. The *English* Troops join *Frederick*'s Allies, 428
The Campaign is open very late in the *Palatinate*, *ib.*
King *James* and *Lewis* XIII, King of *France*, send Ambassadors to try to compose the Troubles in *Bohemia*, 428
The Elector of *Saxony*, conquers *Lusatia*, and keeps it for himself, 430
The Duke of *Bavaria* joins *Bucquoy*, 431
Nov. 8. *Frederick*'s Army is entirely routed at the Battle of *Prague*, *ibid.*
He flies to *Holland*, and leaves behind him all his Baggage and Money, *ibid.*
King *James* sollicits in vain *Lewis* XIII, in behalf of the *Huguenots*, 432
He takes false Measures to save the *Palatinate*, *ibid.*
Suffers himself to be entirely ruled by Count *Gondemar*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, *ibid.*
He demands a Benevolence for the Defence of the *Palatinate*, 436
Secretary *Naunton* is turned out, and Sir *Edward Conway* put in his Place, 437
Sir *Henry Montague* is deprived of the Office of Lord-Treasurer, which is conferred on Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, *ibid.*
George Villiers Marques of *Buckingham* marries *Catherine* the only Daughter and Heires of *Francis Maners* Earl of *Rutland*, 438
Novem. The King calls a Parliament, in order to get Money from them, upon Pretence of the War in the *Palatinate*, *ibid.*
1621. The Parliament meets, *ibid.*
Jan. 21. The King makes a Speech to them, wherein he gives them several Instructions, and demands Money of them, 441, *&c.*
Mar. 11 The Parliament grants the King two Subsidies, 447
1621. *John* Lord *Digby* is sent Ambassador to *Vienna*, 448
Several Petitions are presented to the King against Monopolies, *ibid.*

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JAMES I. 1621. The Estate of Sir *Giles Monpesson*, a noted Monopolist, is confiscated; and Sir *Francis Michel*, another Monopolist, is fined, Page 448---450

Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viscount St. *Albans*, is turned out of his Office of High-Chancellor, and his Estate is forfeited by the House of Lords, 451

Two Parties are formed in *England*, one for the King, and the other for the People; which gave rise to the present Names of *Whigs* and *Tories*, 452

Gondomar is insulted by the People, 454

Jun. 4. The King sends and adjourns the Parliament, *ibid.*

The *Commons* think this to be a Breach of Privilege; and maintain that the King had not Power to adjourn the Parliament. The House of Lords refuses to concur with them, *ibid.* and 455

The *Commons* draw up a Declaration about the *Palatinate*, before they adjourn, 455

A Proclamation is issued out against several Monopolies, 456

July 10. Doctor *John Williams* Dean of *Westminster*, is made Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal, *ibid.*

The Lord *Digby* obtains an Audience of the Emperour, who amuses him, 459

Bucquoy is slain, 456

Count *Mansfeldt* marches into the *Upper-Palatinate*, and makes a Treaty with Count *Tilly*, *ibid.* and 457

The *Upper-Palatinate* is lost in this Campaign, and the *Lower* vigorously attacked, 457

Philip III King of *Spain* dies, and is succeeded by his Son *Philip* IV, 458

July 13. The Archduke *Albert* dies, 460

Nov. 11. Doctor *Williams* High-Chancellor, is made Bishop of *Lincoln*, *ibid.*

King *James* thinks of restoring the Affairs of *Frederick* his Son-in-law, by way of Negotiation. He is amused both by the Emperour and the King of *Spain*, 458, 459

18. Doctor *William Laud* is made Bishop of St. *Davids*, 503

JAMES I. 1621. Nov. 20. The Parliament meets again, Page 503
The King lays before them the State of his Affairs, 462
The Commons preſent a Remonſtrance to him about the People's Grievances, with which he is highly offended, 464---471
Dec. 3. The King writes an angry Letter about it to Sir *Thomas Richardſon*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, 472
The Commons preſent a Petition to the King, in which they juſtify their Conduct, 473, &c.
11. He returns an Anſwer to them in Writing, with which they are not at all ſatisfied, 478
The Commons make a Proteſtation upon the Receipt of this Anſwer, 489
30. The King cauſes the Journal of the Houſe of Commons to be brought into Council, and razes thence with his own Hand, the Commons Proteſtation, 490
1621. Jan. 6. The Parliament is diſſolved by Proclamation, 492
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An Account of the King's Prerogatives, and the People's Privileges, 494----498
The *Puritants* ſide with the People, and the *Arminians* and *Calviniſts*, declare for the King, 502, 503
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1622. He exacts from his Subjects a Benevolence, 505
George Abbot Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, hath the Misfortune to kill a Man, as he was ſhooting at a Buck. Whereupon he withdraws from Court, *ib.*
John Lord *Digby* is made Earl of *Briſtol*, and ſent Ambaſſador extraordinary to *Spain*, to conclude the Treaty of Marriage between Prince *Charles*, and the Infanta *Maria*, 507

JAMES I. 1622. *Gage* is ſent to *Rome* to ſollicit the haſtening of the Pope's Diſpenſation, Page 508
The impriſoned Recuſants are all releaſed, *ibid.*
Sir *Richard Weſton* is ſent to the Archdutcheſs *Iſabella* at *Bruſſels*, to negotiate a Truce about the *Palatinate*, 509
Edward Lord *Vaux* is permitted to raiſe Men in *England* to go and ſerve the *Infanta* againſt the *United-Provinces*, *ibid.*
Novem. *Heidelberg* and *Manheim* are taken from the Elector *Palatine*, and *Frankendal* beſieged, 511
King *James* is amuſed every where, and deceives himſelf by taking wrong Meaſures, 512
Gage comes back from *Rome* with the Conditions upon which the Pope was willing to grant a Diſpenſation, 518---523
Sept. 9. The King reſolves to accept of them, with ſome few Exceptions, 524
He orders the Earl of *Briſtol* to conclude the Marriage, *ibid.*
The King of *Spain*, thinking this a favourable Opportunity to reſtore the *Roman-Catholick* Religion in *England*, reſolves at laſt to conſent to the Marriage, 525
1623. *January* } The Duke of *Bavaria* is inveſted with the Electoral Dignity, and the *Upper-Palatinate*, 529
1624. *Mar.* 27. } A fifteen Months Truce is granted by the King of *Spain* for the *Palatinate*, 528
Frankendal is delivered by way of Truſt, into the *Infanta Iſabella*'s Hands, *ibid.*
King *James* agrees to whatever the Pope required for the *Catholicks*, 530
The Earl of *Briſtol* ſettles all the Articles with the Court of *Spain*; and a Time is fixed for the Celebration of the Marriage. Nothing is now wanted but the Pope's Diſpenſation, without any Thing being ſtipulated for the *Palatinate*, according to the King's expreſs Order, *ibid.*

JAMES I. 1623. The Marqueſs of *Buckingham* perſwades the Prince of *Wales* to go into *Spain*, and the King is ſo weak as to conſent to his going, Page 531, 532

Feb. 27. Prince *Charles* ſets out *incognito*, with *Buckingham*, and two more only, 534

Mar. 7. He arrives at *Madrid*, where he is well received, but is not ſuffered to ſee the *Infanta* in private, *ibid.*

The Diſpenſation is a long while coming from *Rome*, *ibid.* &c.

Pope *Gregory* XV, writes to Prince *Charles*, 535

May 19. The Prince ſends him an Anſwer, *ibid.*

June 20. The Pope adds new Conditions to the Diſpenſation, 539

King *James* agrees to every Thing, *ibid.* &c,

He ſigns the Articles, and ſends them to *Madrid*, 543

George Abbot Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, adviſes King *James* not to tolerate Popery, 541

George Villiers is created Duke of *Buckingham*, 551

Pope *Gregory* XV, dies; which renders the Diſpenſation null, 555

The Court of *Spain* endeavours to perſwade Prince *Charles* to turn Papiſt, 556

Aug. 6. *Urban* VIII, is choſen Pope, *ibid.*

He delays to grant the Diſpenſation; waiting till Prince *Charles* had embraced Popery, *ibid.*

The Prince reſolves to break of the Match: He gets his Father's Conſent for it, 557

He deviſes means to leave *Madrid*, without cauſing any Suſpicion in the Court, 558

Oct. 5. Prince *Charles* arrives at *Portſmouth* from *Madrid*, 560

The Court of *Madrid* promiſes the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, 561---563

King *James* is forced to conſent to the Breach of the Match between his Son and the *Infanta*, 564

John Digby Earl of *Briſtol*, is recalled from *Spain*, *ibid.*

JAMES I. 1623. The Prince, and the Duke of *Buckingham* rule the King abſolutely, Page 565
The King calls a Parliament, 566
1623/4. A Project is formed of a Marriage between Prince *Charles*, and Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, Siſter of *Lewis* XIII, *ibid.*
Feb. 19. The Parliament meets, 567
The Duke of *Buckingham* impoſes upon the Parliament by a falſe Narrative of what had been done in *Spain*, 572
The Parliament adviſes the King to break off the *Spaniſh* Match, and offers him Money, 574---576
They preſent to him a Petition againſt *Recuſants*, 578
The Marqueſs of *Inoioſa*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, privately informs the King of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s indirect Practices, 582
1624. The Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *Buckingham*, cauſe *Lionel Cranfield* Earl of *Middleſex*, and High-Treaſurer, to be diſgraced, though utterly againſt the King's Inclination, 585
They keep the King in an ignominious Subjection, 586
The King entertains ſtrong Suſpicions againſt the Prince and the Duke. The Duke is upon the point of being diſcarded, 584
King *James* is forced to turn the Earl of *Briſtol* out of favour, 586
James Hay Earl of *Carliſle* is ſent to *France*, to negotiate a Marriage between Prince *Charles*, and the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, 587
King *James* puts the Laws in Execution againſt the Papiſts. The Archbiſhop of *Ambrun* is ſent by *Lewis* XIII, to interceed far them, and hath ſeveral private Conferences with King *James*, *ibid.* and 588, 589, 590
Nov. 10. The Treaty of Marriage is concluded at *Paris*, 593, 596
Six Thouſand Men are ſent into *Holland* to ſerve in the Army of the *States*, to recover the *Palatinate*, 587

JAMES I. 1624. Count *Mansfeldt* comes to *England* to obtain Succours to ſerve in the *Palatinate*, Page 587

King *James* demands *Frankendal* of the *Infanta*, who promiſes to give it up. But a Garriſon cannot be conveyed thither, becauſe King *James* had not ſtipulated for a Paſſage to it through the Emperour's Dominions, 603

Decem. Count *Mansfeldt* embarks with the *Engliſh* Army; but a Paſſage being denied him through *France*, the Army diſperſes it ſelf, 604

1624. *Jan.* and *Feb.* Some Difficulties ariſe about the Pope's Diſpenſation, and a new one is demanded, 605

1625. *May* 27. King *James* I, dies, after having reigned Twenty-two Years, 606

The Duke of *Buckingham* is ſuſpected of having haſtened his Death, *ibid.*

CHARLES I. # *CHARLES* I. Vol. X.

1625. *Mar.* 27. *CHARLES* I, is proclaimed at *London*, Page 2

He forms two difficult Projects; 1. To wreſt from the Emperour and the Duke of *Bavaria*, the two *Palatinates*; 2. To carry the Regal Authority much higher than his Predeceſſors had done, 3, &c.

A Parliament is called for the 17th of *May*, but it does not meet till the 18th of *June*, 10, 11

April. The Plague breaks out in *London*,

May 1. The Diſpenſation for the King's Marriage with the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria* arrives at *Paris*, 10

The Marriage is ſolemnized there by Proxy, *ibid.*

7. The Funeral of King *James* I, is celebrated, *ibid.*

King *Charles* ſends eight Thouſand Men to *Plymouth*, for an Expedition againſt *Spain*, *ibid.*

10. He grants a Pardon to ten *Romiſh* Prieſts that were condemned to dye,

CHARLES I. 1625. May 24. *George Villiers* Duke of *Backingham* comes to *Paris* to conduct the new Queen to *England*, Page 10

June 12. The Queen imbarks at *Boulogne*, *ibid.*

13. She arrives at *Dover*, *ibid.*

The Marriage is consummated at *Canterbury*, *ibid.*

16. The King and Queen make their Entry into *London*, 11

The Plague rages in that City, *ibid.*

18. The first Parliament of King *Charles* I, meets, 11

The King asks Money of the Parliament for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, and the War with *Spain*, *ibid.*

Both Houses present a Petition to him against Recucusants. The King returns a gracious Answer, 14, 19

Richard Montague is brought to the Bar of the House of Commons, for a Book which is declared contrary to the Articles. The King is displeased with the Commons about it, 14

The Commons grant the King two Subsidies. He accepts them graciously, and asks for more Money, 15

King *Charles* returns a general Answer to the Petition against Recusants, 14

July 11. The Parliament is adjourned to *Oxford*, upon account of the Plague, 15

During the Adjournment, the King lends six Ships to *Lewis* XIII King of *France*, to serve against *Rochelle*, *ibid.*

Aug. 1. The Parliament is re-assembled at *Oxford*,, 16

The Commons examine the Grievances, *ibid.*

4. King *Charles* sends for both Houses, and makes a Speech to them in which he demands Money, 17

The Commons complain, that the King had granted a Pardon to a Jesuit, they Day after having returned a favourable Answer to their Petition against Recusants; and examine other Grievances, 18, 19

CHARLES I. 1625. The King returns a favourable Anſwer to each Article of that Petition, Page 19---28

Aug. 9. The Duke of *Buckingham* gives the Parliament an Account of the Fleet, and at the ſame Time takes an Occaſion to vindicate his Conduct,

10. The King ſends a Meſſage to the Commons to haſten the Money-Bill, and threatens them to take other Meaſures,

11. The Commons draw up a Declaration, 30

12. The King diſſolves his firſt Parliament, 32

Sept. King *Charles* fits out a Fleet againſt *Spain*, and raiſes Money by way of Loan, by Letters under his Privy-Seal, *ibid.*

Oct. 2. The Fleet ſails towards *Cadiz*, under the Command of *Edward Cecil* Viſcount *Wimbledon*, 33

30. Sir *Thomas Coventry* is now made Keeper of the Great-Seal, (having acted as ſuch in the firſt Parliament) in the room of Doctor *John Williams*,

Novem. The Fleet returns without doing any Thing, 34

Decemb. The King calls his ſecond Parliament, to meet the 8th of *February*,

A Proclamation is iſſued out, ordering all ſuch as had forty Pounds a Year or more, to come and receive the Order of Knighthood, before the King's Coronation, 35

$162\frac{5}{6}$. The King is crowned, 35

Feb. 8. The Parliament meets, 36

The Commons examine the Publick Grievances, 39

The Committee of Religion calls in queſtion two Books compoſed by Doctor *Richard Montague*, 40

Mar. 7. The King ſends a Meſſage to the Commons, to demand a Supply of Money, 41

The Lords preſs the Commons to conſider of the Supply. The Commons are offended at it, *ibid.*

They examine the Conduct of *George Villiers* Duke of *Buckingham*, *ibid.*

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CHARLES I. 1625-6. The King ſends a Letter to the Speaker, to forward the Supply of Money, Page 41
And a Meſſage to Sir *Richard Weſton*, to the ſame Purpoſe, *ibid.*
The Commons return an Anſwer, in which they promiſe to aſſiſt the King, and ſay, they did not doubt but he would receive their Information concerning Grievances, 45, 46
The King accepts their Offer, bat will not hear of any Conditions, 47
The Houſe of Commons decides, that Common Fame is a good Ground of proceeding againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, 48
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The Houſe of Commons votes the King three *Subſidies*, and three *Fifteenths*, *ibid.*
1626. Mar 28. 29. They continue to examine the Favourite's Conduct, 49
The King ſends for both Houſes to *Whitehall*, and orders the Lord-Keeper to make a Speech to them, in which the Commons were ſeverely reprimanded, 49, 50
The Commons take great Offence at the King's and the Lord Keeper's Speeches, 57
The Duke of *Buckingham* excuſes the King at a Conference between the two Houſes, and takes from thence an Occaſion to vindicate his own Conduct, 58, 60
John Digby Earl of *Briſtol* petitions the Houſe of Lords, that he might be ſummoned to Parliament, 461, 67
March 31. The King ſends him a Writ of Summons, but orders him withal not to make uſe of it, 463
April. The Commons preſent a Remonſtrance to the King, concerning his Speech, and that of the Lord-Keeper at *Whitehall*, 60
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CHARLES I. 1626. The Commons draw up Articles of Accuſation againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, and ſend him Word that they expected his Anſwer, Page 66

The Lords refuſe to give him Leave to Anſwer, *ib.*

There is annexed to the Charge againſt the Duke, an Article concerning the Plaſter, and the Potion given to King *James*, *ibid.*

King *Charles* orders a Charge of High-Treaſon to be brought againſt the Earl of *Briſtol*, 68, 468---478

May 1. The Earl of *Briſtol* exhibits, before the Lords, Articles of Accuſation againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord *Conway* Secretary of State, 68, 493---502

8. The Commons ſend up to the Lords a Declaration and Impeachment againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*. Sir *Dudley Diggs* makes a Prologue, and Sir *John Elliot* an Epilogue to the Impeachment. They are both ſent to the *Tower*, 69---72

11. The Kings goes to the Houſe of Lords, where he makes a Speech to vindicate the Duke, 73

The Commons deſire that the Duke might be taken into Cuſtody, 74

They make a great Noiſe about the Impiſonment of their Members, *ibid.*

The King orders them to be releaſed, 75

19. A Diſpute ariſes between the King and the Houſe of Lords about the Impriſonment of *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Arundel*, 75-- 77

25. The Houſe is diſſatisfied, and adjourns till the ſecond of *June*, 76

28. *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Suffolk* dies, 77

The Earl of *Arundel* is releaſed, 76

June 2. *George Villiers* Duke of *Buckingham* is choſen Chancellor of *Cambridge* in the room of the Earl of *Suffolk*, 77

The Commons are offended at it, but the King ſupports the Election, *ibid.*

8. The Duke gives in his Anſwer to the Impeachment entered againſt him by the Commons, *ibid.*

9. King *Charles* writes a Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, to haſten the Subſidy, 78

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CHARLES I. 1626. The Commons preſent a Petition to the King againſt *Popiſh* Recuſants, and give a Liſt of 59 who were in Places of Truſt and Authority, Page 80

They give an Anſwer to the King's laſt Meſſage, 81

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June 15. The King diſſolves his ſecond Parliament, 84

He publiſhes a Declaration, dated the 13th of *June*, wherein he vindicates himſelf for diſſolving the Parliament, 96--106

A Proclamation is iſſued out, ordering all thoſe who had any Copies of the Common's Remonſtrance, to burn them, 107

And another, forbidding the preaching or diſputing upon the controverted Points of Arminianiſm, *ib.*

A Commiſſion is granted to ſome Perſons to compound with *Popiſh* Recuſants, 108

The King ſets on foot a Loan from every Peer, 109

The City of *London* excuſes itſelf from lending the King 100,000 *l.* *ibid.*

The Ports and Maritime Counties are ordered to fit out Ships. *London* is commanded to equip Twenty, *ibid.*

An Order of Council upon this Point, *ibid.*

The King raiſes, by way of Benevolence, the three Subſidies and three Fifteenths, which the Commons had voted to grant him,

Aug. 27. The King of *Denmark* is defeated by Count *Tilly*, 109

King *Charles* exacts a General Loan of all his Subjects, to enable him to aſſiſt the King of *Denmark*, 110

Soldiers are billetted upon private Houſes, contrary to the Cuſtom of *England*, 113

Sir *Randolph Crew* Lord-Chief-Juſtice, is removed from his Place, for not advancing the Loan,

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Dr. *Manwaring* preaches a Sermon upon the ſame Subject, 115

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He treats with the Duke of *Rohan*,

The Duke of *Buckingham* ſails with a Fleet againſt *France*, without the War being declared, 122

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Octob. 9. Archbiſhop *Abbot* is ſuſpended for refuſing to licence *Sibthorp*'s Sermon, 115

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1627. Jan. 19. The *Rochellers* apply to the King for Aſſiſtance, 126

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Writs of Summons are ſent to *Abbot* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to *Williams* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and to the Earl of *Briſtol*, who were diſgraced, 127

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He ſends a Meſſage to the Commons about it, *ibid.*

The Commons examine the Liberties of the Nation, and come to ſome Reſolutions about them, *ibid.*

31. Both Houſes preſent a Petition to the King againſt Recuſants,

He returns a favourable Anſwer to each Article, *ib.*

Aprl 2. The Commons examine the King's Propoſitions, and then reſume the conſideration of the Grievances, 139

3. The King ſends a Meſſage to them in behalf of the Duke of *Buckingham*, 140

4. And another to deſire them to diſpatch the Supply, *ibid.*

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10. King *Charles* hinders the Houſe from adjourning at *Eaſter*, 141

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12. The King ſends another threatning Meſſage upon the ſame Subject, *ibid.*

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2. He ſends them Word, that he intended to prorogue the Parliament, 159
3. The Commons return an Anſwer to ſeveral Meſſages; wherein they alledge, that they relied on the King, but not on his Miniſters, and that they would never forſake their Rights and Liberties, 160
The King orders the Lord-Keeper to tell them, that they ought to rely on his Word, 161
He ſends another Meſſage to prevent the Petition of Right, 162
The Commons vote, that a Verbal Declaration of the King is not ſufficient Satisfaction, unleſs made in a Parliamentary way, 164, 165
12. The King ſends a Letter to the Lords, wherein he aſſerts his Right of committing Priſoners, without expreſſing the Cauſe of their Commitment, 166---168
The Houſe of Commons takes no Notice of it, 168
The Lords propoſe the adding a Clauſe to the Petition of Right, but it is rejected by the Commons, *ib.*
23. The Commons ſhew that this Clauſe would render the Petition of no Effect, 168, 169
26. The Lord-Keeper makes a Speech at a Conference, to perſwade the Commons to diſpatch the Petition,
The Lords agree with the Commons to preſent the Petition, without any Addition, 169
A Charge is brought in againſt Dr. *Edward Manwaring*, 176, 116

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CHARLES I. 1628. The Captain of a *French* Ship depoſes, That the *Engliſh* Fleet did not attempt to relieve *Rochel*,

May 28. *William Fielding* Earl of *Denbeigh*, is ordered to relieve that Town,

June 2. The King comes to Parliament, and gives an Anſwer to the Petition of Right, in general and ambiguous Terms, 169---175

3. The Commons are not ſatisfied with it, and reſume the Grievances, 175

A Sentence is paſſed againſt *Manwaring*, whereby he is declared incapable of any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, 116, 176

5. The King notifies by a Meſſage to the Commons, that he intended to prorogue the Parliament the 11th, and orders them withal not to proceed to any new Matters, that might lay a Scandal upon his Government, 176, 177

He commands the Houſe to adjourn till the next Day,

6. The Speaker brings a more gracious Meſſage from the King, 178

The Houſe examines an Order of the King's to bring in Foreign Forces into the Kingdom. The Order is read, and Witneſſes are examined, 179

June 7. The King comes to the Parliament, and returns a plain Anſwer to the Petition of Right, 180

The Commons take into Conſideration a Commiſſion from the King to ſettle a general Exciſe, without the Conſent of Parliament, 181

The two Houſes have a Conference about it, *ibid.*

The Debates concerning the Duke of *Buckingham* are renewed, *ibid.*

13. He is charged with being the Cauſe of all the Evils to the Kingdom, 182

A Remonſtrance is preſented againſt him by the Commons, 182---194

26. The King comes to the Parliament, and gives his Aſſent to the Subſidy-Bill, and then prorogues the Parliament to the 20th of *October*, 201

A Pro-

CHARLES I. 1628. A Proclamation is iſſued out to ſuppreſs Dr. *Manwaring*'s Sermons, that had been condemned by the Parliament, Page 203

And a Commiſſion to compound with Recuſants, 204

July 16. Sir *Richard Weſton*, a *Papiſt*, is made Lord-Treaſurer, and Earl of *Portland*, *ibid.*

William Laud is made Biſhop of *London*, *ibid.*

Dr. *Richard Montague* and Dr. *Manwaring* procure a Pardon from the King, *ibid.*

Montague is made Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and *Manwaring* Rector of *Stamford-Rivers*, *ibid.*

Aug. 23. *George Villiers* Duke of *Buckingham*, is aſſaſſinated by *Felton*, 205

24. Dr. *Montague* is conſecrated Biſhop,

Sept. The Fleet ſails from *Portſmouth* to relieve *Rochel*, *ib.*

King *Charles* diſpoſes of the Troops he had ordered to be raiſed in *Germany*, to the King of *Sweden* and the Duke of *Savoy*,

Biſhop *Laud* is highly in Favour with the King,

20. The *Engliſh* Fleet appears before *Rochel*, and attempts to force the Barricado, but in vain,

Octob. 1. The Parliament is further prorogued to the 20th of *January*, 205

20. *Rochel* is taken, *ibid.*

Nov. 27. *Felton* is executed,

Samuel Vaſſal, a *London* Merchant, refuſes to pay *Tunnage*, for which his Effects are ſeized, 205, 206

The Merchandizes of *Richard Chambers* are ſeized upon the ſame account, 206

1628. *Jan.* 20. The Parliament meets, *ibid.*

They find that the Petition of Right had been inrolled, and printed by the King's Order, with ſome Additions,

The Impriſonment of *John Rolls* about Tunnage and Poundage, ſince the Petition of Right, is taken into Conſideration by the Houſe of Commons, 205

The King comes to the Parliament; and makes a Speech, in which he ſays, that he did not challenge Tunnage and Poundage as of right, but *de bene*

CHARLES I. 1625. *benè eſſe.* He preſſes the Commons to paſs a Bill to grant him Tonnage and Poundage, Page 206, 207

Jan. 26. He ſends a Meſſage to the Houſe, to take that Bill ſpeedily into Conſideration, 208

The Commons fall upon Matters of Religion, *ibid.*

27. The King requires them by another Meſſage, to give the Preference to the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, *ibid.*

They regard it not, and proceed in their Debates concerning Religion, *ibid.*

28. Secretary *Cook* brings them another Meſſage concerning the Precedency of Tonnage and Poundage.

They continue notwithſtanding to examine Religious Matters.

The Houſe of Commons enters into a Vow, to ſtand to the Thirty-nine Articles eſtabliſhed in the 13th of Queen *Elizabeth*, 209

30. Both Houſes petition the King for a Faſt. He grants it, but proteſts withal, that he would not grant any Faſt for the future, except on extraordinary Occaſions, *ibid.*

A Declaration is preſented to the King by the Commons, wherein they juſtify their Proceedings, in giving the Precedence to Matters of Religion, *ib.*

The King returns an Anſwer, and preſſes them to haſten the Bill of Tonnage, *&c.* 210

Feb. 4. The Commons enter into ſome Debates about the Proclamation to prohibit diſputing *for*, or *againſt*, *Arminianiſm*. *Laud* and *Montague* are ſuſpected of having procured it, *ibid.*

10. They take into Examination the Affair of Mr. *Rolls*, and the ſeizing of the Merchants Effects, 214

Great Complaints are made in the Houſe about the Pardon granted to *Sibthorp*, *Montague*, and *Manwaring*, and the preferring of *Manwaring*, in Oppoſition to the Sentence paſſed upon him by the Parliament.

Complaint is alſo made about the Licenſing of Popiſh Books.

1628. Feb. 18. The Faſt is kept, Page 214
The Officers of the Cuſtoms are examined, 214, 215
19. Complaints are made againſt *Richard Neile* Biſhop of *Winchester*, and the Lord-Treaſurer *Weſton*.
Mar. 2. The Speaker refuſes to put the Queſtion, Saying he had an Order from the King to the contrary, and was commanded to adjourn the Houſe till the 10th of *March*, 215
He endeavours to go out of the Chair, but is held down in it, till a Proteſtation was drawn up, *ibid.*
The Proteſtation of the Commons againſt levying *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, 216
The Houſe is adjourned till the 10th.
A Proclamation is drawn up, to notify that the Parliament was to be diſſolved the 10th of *March*, *ib.*
4. Several Members of the Houſe of Commons are impriſoned, *ibid.*
10. The King diſſolves his third Parliament, 217
He publiſhes a Declaration, containing the Cauſes which moved him to diſſolve the Parliament, 223--243
12. The Duke of *Rohan* writes a Letter to the King.
Biſhop *Laud* preſents to the King, *Conſiderations for the better ſettling of the Church-Government.*
Tonnage and Poundage are enacted with rigour, 248
A ſtrict Order is made, enabling the King's Meſſengers to ſearch any Warehouſes, &c. in default of the Payment of *Cuſtoms*, 249
27. The King puts out a Proclamation for ſuppreſſing falſe Rumours touching Parliaments, 244
An Order is publiſhed for arming and muſtering the *Militia*, 249
Several Proclamations and Statutes againſt the *Recuſants* are but ill put in Execution.
May 7. *Richard Chambers*, an Alderman of *London*, is fined two Thouſand Pounds by the Star-Chamber, for refuſing to pay *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, 221
10. The Peace with *France* is publiſhed in *England*, 245
13. Several Prieſts are releaſed.

John

CHARLES I.

1629. June 24. *John Selden*, and the other imprisoned Members, bring their *Habeas Corpus*. But the King refuses to grant them the Benefit of it, Page 245

30. The King erects the *Starch-makers* into a Corporation, 249

July. Recusants compound for their Forfeitures.

Sept. 16. *Lewis* XIII, King of *France* swears to the Peace, 246

Dec. 30. King *Charles* publishes *Regal Instructions* about the Government of the Church, conformably to Bishop *Laud's Considerations*, 250

1629/30. Jan. 4. The Council writes a threatning Letter to the Mayor of *Chichester*, about the *Billeting* of *Soldiers*.

King *Charles* ingages to furnish *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, with Six Thousand Men, in the Marquess of *Hamilton*'s Name, 251

1630. May 27. He puts out a Proclamation for confirming *Defective Titles*.

29. Prince *Charles* is born, 251

31. Articles are agreed unto between the King of *Sweden* and the Marquess of *Hamilton*.

June 4. Doctor *Alexander Leighton* is condemned in the Star-Chamber. His Sentence is not put in Execution till *Novewber* 16.

July 6. The King grants a Commission to compound with those who had neglected to receive the Order of *Knighthood*, 252

Nov. 5. A Peace is concluded between *England* and *Spain*, 250

1630/31. Jan. 16. Bishop *Laud* uses several new and strange Ceremonies at the Consecration of St. *Catherine-Creed*-Church.

March. A Commission is granted to the Marquess of *Hamilton*, for raising the Troops designed for the Service of the King of *Sweden*.

1631. Apr. 25. *Mervin* Lord *Audley*, is tried and condemned for *Sodomy*, &c.

Cards are monopolized, 257

July 19. *James* Marquess of *Hamilton*, sets out for *Germany*.

A Tax is imposed for the Salary of the *Muster-Master*.

1631. Sept. 7. The Battle of *Lipſick* is fought,

Three Members of the Univerſity of *Oxford* are expelled, for preaching againſt *Arminianiſm*, 256

James Maleverer Eſq; is proceeded againſt in the *Exchequer*, for neglecting to take the Order of *Knighthood*.

1632. May 6. *Nathaniel Barnard*, Lecturer of St. *Sepulchres*, *London*, is ſuſpended by the High-Commiſſion-Court, fined one Thouſand Pound, and committed to Priſon, for preaching againſt *Arminianiſm*.

June 10. A Proclamation is iſſued out, commanding all Lords and Gentlemen to depart from *London*, and go and reſide upon their Eſtates, 257

16. And another againſt *building* in, or near *London*, upon new Foundations, *ibid.*

May. The City of *London* is fined fifteen Hundred Marks, for neglecting to take Inquiſition of the Death of Doctor *Lamb*, who was killed by the Mob, 257

Decemb. *Henry Sherfield* Recorder of *Sarum*, is fined five Hundred Pounds, for having broken ſome painted *Glaſs* in St. *Edmond*'s Church in that City, 259----262

1633. Mar. 11. *Thomas* Viſcount *Wentworth* is made Preſident of the Council of *York*, and hath remarkable Inſtructions given him, 262----265

1633. Apr. 29. *Sigiſmund* III King of *Poland* dies, *ibid.*

May 13. King *Charles* takes a Journey to *Scotland*, 266

June 15. He arrives at *Edinburgh*, *ibid.*

18. And is crowned there, *ibid.*

28. The Parliament of *Scotland* meets, *ibid.*

King *Charles* makes uſe of ſome ſort of Violence to get two Acts paſſed in that Parliament, with which the People is highly diſſatisfied, 267---269

July 16. He departs from *Edinburgh*,

Walter Curle Biſhop of *Wincheſter* publiſhes Articles of Inquiry, and an Oath to be tendred to the Church-Wardens, at the primary Viſitation of his Dioceſe, 270, 271

Doctor

CHARLES I.

1633. Aug. 6. Doctor *William Laud* is made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, upon the Death of Doctor *George Abbot*, Page 273

A Sentence passes in the Star-Chamber against some Persons who made bad *Soap*.

The King forbids by a Proclamation People's selling *Tobacco* without a License.

Lord Chief-Justice *Richardson* is obliged to revoke an Order made by him at the Assizes in *Somersetshire* against *Wakes*, 272

18. King *Charles* renews the Proclamation published by King *James* I, about *Recreations* on *Sundays*, *ibid.*

Oct. 8. He orders that the Service should be performed in his Chapel at *Edinburgh* according to the *English* Liturgy: And that his Privy-Council, and the Lords of the Sessions should receive the Communion kneeling, 278, 279

Archbishop *Laud* writes several Letters to the Bishops in *Scotland* about that Matter.

Nov. 6. *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden* is slain at the Battle of *Lutzen*.

19. *Frederick* Elector Palatine, and King of *Bohemia* dies. Prince *James* is born, *ibid.*

Great Debates are occasioned by placing the Communion-Table *Altar-wise* in St. *Gregory*'s Church, *London*, 280, 281

The *Silk-Manufacture* is monopolized; and the Manufacturers of it erected into a Company.

1634. Feb. *William Prynne* Esq; is fined and punished for his Book intitled *Histrio-mastyx*, 282

1634. June Archbishop *Laud* forbids the *Dutch*, *Walloon*, and *French* Congregations in *England*, the *English* Church at *Rotterdam*, and the Regiments in the Service of the *United-Provinces*, to make use of *Presbyterian*-Ministers, and enjoins them to conform to the Church of *England*, 290, 291

CHARLES I.

1634. Sept. 6. The *Swedes* are defeated at the Battle of *Nordlinguen*, Page 291

Oct. 16. Sir *John Finch* is made Lord Chief-Justice of the *Common-Pleas* in the room of Sir *Robert Heath*, who was removed, 285

20. The first Writ for *Ship-Money*, directed to the City of *London*, 285---288

Instructions are given for the Assessing and Levying of Ship-Money.

Archbishop *Laud* perscribes some Injunctions to the *French* and *Walloon* Churches, 290, 291

He sets up *Pictures* in the Windows of his Chappel at *Lambeth*, 292

Novem. Several Pardons are granted to *Romish* Recusants.

1635. March. An Information is laid in the Star-Chamber against several Hundreds of Persons, for residing in *London*, contrary to the King's Proclamation, 292

August. A Proclamation is issued out for confirming *defective Titles*, 294

Sept. 29. *Thomas Parr*, aged 152, or 153 Years, is presented to the King, 295

Nov. 22. *Charles Lewis* Elector-Palatine, arrives in *England*. The Princess *Elizabeth* is born. *ibid.*

1636. May 10. By a Proclamation Foreigners are forbid *Fishing* on the Coasts of *England* or *Scotland*, 296

June. *Algernoon Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, and High-Admiral, sinks some of the *Dutch* Fishing-Boats, and disperses the rest, 297

6. The Judges give it as their Opinion, that the Books written by Mr. *Bastwick*, and Doctor *Burton*, did amount to High-Treason.

A Difference arises between Archbishop *Laud*, and the two Universities, about his Right to visit them, as Metropolitan, 295, 296

July 19. The King grants a Commission to enquire about *Depopulations*, 298

Ship-Money is laid upon the whole Kingdom, which had hitherto been imposed only upon the maritime Towns, 292

King

CHARLES I.

1636. Oct. 18. King *Charles* gives ſome Inſtructions to the Biſhops in *Scotland*, about ſettling a Conformity in that Kingdom with the Church of *England*, Page 292

The Tax of Ship-Money brought to the King, in the Year 1636. 202240 *l.* Sterling.

1636-7. *Feb.* 14. The Lord-Keeper makes a Speech to the Judges, to recommend to them the Buſineſs of *Ship-Money*.

The King requires the Opinion of the Judges concerning *Ship-Money*, 293, 301

1637. *Apr.* 30. A Proclamation is iſſued out, forbidding the *Presbyterians* to go and ſettle in *America*.

May 1. And an Order of Council is made againſt the tranſporting them thither.

June 11. *John Williams* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, is, by Sentence of the *Star-Chamber* ſuſpended, condemned to Impriſonment, and to a Fine of ten Thouſand Pounds, for tampering with Witneſſes.

14. *William Prynne*, *Henry Burton*, and *John Baſtwick*, are queſtioned in the Star-Chamber.

30. They are each of them condemned to a five Thouſand Pounds Fine, to have their Ears cut off, and their Noſes ſlit.

July 23. The firſt Tumult at *Edinburgh*, upon the reading the Liturgy, ſent down there by the King's Order, 331

Oct. 18. Another Tumult riſes there, 332

The Malecontents preſent ſeveral Petitions, 334, 335

Dec. 7. &c. Several Proclamations are publiſhed in *Scotland* to ſuppreſs thoſe Tumults, 334—337

John Hambden Eſq; is proſecuted for refuſing to pay Ship-Money, and caſt, 304—307

1637-8. *Feb.* Such Miniſters as refuſed to read the *Book of Sports* on *Sundays*, are proſecuted.

A rigorous Sentence is paſſed upon *John Lilburn*.

The King ſends a Proclamation into *Scotland*, to quell the Troubles there, 337

CHARLES I. 1637-8. The Malecontents draw up a Proteſtation, erect Tables, and ſubſcribe a Covenant, Page 338---343

1638. May 16. The King appoints *James* Marqueſs of *Hamilton* his *High-Commiſſioner* in *Scotland*, 349

June 2. The Marqueſs arrives at *Edinburgh*, 350

He lets the King know, that he muſt either yield to the *Scots* Demands, or prepare for War.

11. The King reſolves upon War, and orders the Marqueſs to amuſe the Malecontents, *ibid.*

28. His Majeſty's Declaration is publiſhed at *Edinburgh*, 351

The Malecontents draw up a Proteſtation, 352

July 6. The Marqueſs returns to *England*, to receive the King's Orders, *ibid.*

27. King *Charles* gives him freſh Inſtructions, *ibid.*

Aug. 10. The Marqueſs, upon his return to *Scotland*, finds Things in a worſe Condition than before, *ibid.*

19. An Order is made againſt tranſporting Miniſters into *America*, without the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s and the Biſhop of *London*'s Licence.

25. The Marqueſs of *Hamilton* makes a ſecond Journey into *England*, 355

Sept. 9. The King gives him new Inſtructions, wherein he abates conſiderably of his former Demands.

His Majeſty requires the *Scots* to ſign the *Old Confeſſion of Faith*, 356

He publiſhes a Proclamation, wherein he revoked, in ambiguous Terms, the Orders he had ſent into *Scotland*, *ibid.*

The Malecontents form a Proteſtation againſt it, 357

They raiſe Objections againſt the *Oath* annexed to the Confeſſion of *Faith*, 356

22. The High-Commiſſioner conveens a General-Aſſembly at *Glaſcow* the 21ſt of *November* 1638, and a Parliament at *Edinburgh* the 15th of *May* 1639, *ibid.*

Mary

CHARLES I.

1638. Oct. 30. *Mary of Medicis* arrives in *England*.

Nov. 3. An Order of Council is issued out for collecting the Arrears of *Ship-Money*.

21. The General Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*, begins to meet at *Glasgow*, Page 357

27. There is read in it a *Declinator* sent by the Bishops, 358

28. The High-Commissioner dissolves the Assembly, 359
It continues to sit, notwithstanding the Dissolution, 361

29. A Proclamation is published for dissolving the Assembly.
A Protestation is drawn against it.
——— *Campbel* Marques of *Argyle* joins the *Malecontents*.

Dec. 8. The *Scottish* Bishops are deprived, 364
The King forbids, by a Proclamation, the acknowledging the Authority of the General Assembly.
The Assembly enters into a Protestation against it.

16. By an Order of Council, all the Counties are commanded to find a certain Number of Troops for the War with *Scotland*, 368

1638-9. *Jan.* 26. The King summons the Nobility to meet him at *York*, each, with as many Horse as he should be able to raise, 366
Several Orders are issued out for raising Troops.

Feb. 10. *Thomas* Viscount *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, writes a Letter to the King, about the Preparations for the War with *Scotland*.

11. Archbishop *Laud* sends a circular Letter to the Clergy, to exhort them to contribute freely to the War against the *Scots*, 367

14. The *Scots* disperse a Declaration [or kind of *Manifesto*] in *England*.

27. King *Charles* publishes a Declaration, to justify his going to War with *Scotland*.

1639. *Mar.* 27. He sets out for the *North*, 368

30. And arrives at *York*, *ibid.*

The

CHARLES I. 1639. The *Scots* ſeize *Dumbarton*, where the King intended to get ſome Troops landed from *Ireland*.

They alſo take *Aberdeen*.

Apr. 9. The Council writes a Letter to ſeveral Gentlemen, to require them to lend the King Money.

The King iſſues a Proclamation to revoke ſundry Monopolies, but it is not put in Execution, 400

29. He ſets out from *York*, and comes to *Newcaſtle*.

May. The *Scots* reſiding in *Ireland* are forced to take an Oath of Allegiance, whereby they abjured the Covenant.

31. *Henry Rich*, Earl of *Holland*, enters *Scotland*, and reads there a Proclamation from the King.

June 4. He enters *Scotland* a ſecond Time, with four Thouſand Men, and retreats in a hurry.

5. By an Order of Council, the *Scots* living in *England* are enjoyned to take the ſame Oath as had been taken by thoſe in *Ireland*.

The King reſolves to ſtand upon the Defenſive, 370

The *Scotch* Army diſappears.

6. The *Scots* ſue for Peace, the King agrees to it, 371

11. The Negotiations for it are ſet on Foot, *ibid.*

18. An uncertain Peace is concluded, 373

King *Charles* gains the Earl of *Montroſs* to his Side.

Aug. 6. He writes a Letter to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, by which it appears that he intended only to amuſe the *Scots*, 381

1. His Majeſty arrives at *Theobalds*.

11. The *Scottiſh* Biſhops ſign a Declinator, 385

15. A general Aſſembly meets at *Edinburgh*, *ibid.*

The Earl of *Traquair*, the King's High-Commiſſioner, approves of the Covenant, 386

Sept. 17. A *Spaniſh* Fleet is attached by the *Dutch* in the *Channel*, and diſperſed,

The

CHARLES I.

1639. Nov. 10. The King renews his Orders for the levying of *Ship-Money*.

30. The Council iſſues out Injunctions to the ſame Purpoſe,

Dec. 15. The Parliament of *Scotland* meets, 388

18. And is prorogued, 390

The *Scots* enter a Proteſtation againſt this Prorogation, 391

They break up; but leave a Committee, to preſent a Remonſtrance to the King, and attend his Anſwer, 391

The King refuſes Audience to the Deputies that brought him the Remonſtrance, 392

27. *Algernoon Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord High-Admiral, is ordered to get twenty Ships fitted out, beſides thoſe that were to be ſet forth by the City of *London*.

1639. Feb. 14. The Earl of *Northumberland* is appointed Captain-General, and the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant-General of the Army that was to be employed againſt *Scotland*, 399

The Lord *William Hamilton* is made Earl of *Lanerick*, being twenty four Years of Age.

The Committee of *Edinburgh* obtains leave of the King to ſend him their Deputies, 392

10. The Deputies preſent two Petitions to his Majeſty, *ibid.*

Mar. 2. They deſire him to let the Parliament meet, and confirm the Acts of the Aſſembly.

The King objects to them, that their Powers were not full enough, 393

4. He calls his fourth Parliament in *England* for the 13th of *April*.

11. The Council of *England* reſolves upon a War with *Scotland*, 392

The King publiſhes a Declaration to juſtify this ſecond War, 393---396

He

1640. He inſiſts chiefly upon a Letter without date, written by the Malecontents to the King of *France*, Page 396

March 26. Orders are ſent to the ſeveral chief Towns and Counties to raiſe *Soldiers*, and to furniſh them with *Coat* and *Conduct*-Money, 398

30. A Proclamation againſt Libellous and Seditious Pamphlets, and Diſcourſes from *Scotland*.
Ireland grants the King four Subſidies.

April 7. Sir *John Finch* is made Baron of *Fordwiche*.

10. The Patents for Monopolies are called in a ſecond time by the King, 400

11. The Lord *Lowden*, one of the *Scottiſh* Deputies, is committed to the *Tower*.

13. The Parliament meets, 400
The King makes a Speech to them, to demand Money for the War with *Scotland*, 400---401

16. Several Petitions are preſented to the Commons about *Grievances*, 411

17. The Commons take them into Conſideration, *ibid.*

20. They enter into a Reſolution about the Buſineſs of Sir *John Finch*, Speaker in the laſt Parliament, *ibid.*

21. The King ſends for both Houſes to *Whitehall*, and, in a Speech made by the Lord-Keeper, requires them to diſpatch the Supply, 412---416

22. The Commons proceed in the Examination of Grievances, 416

27. The Houſe of Lords ſollicits the Commons to go about the Supply.
The Commons vote This to be a Breach of Privilege, 417
They ſtick to the Grievances, *ibid.*
There were then 405 Members in the Houſe, *ibid.*

May 2. King *Charles* ſends a Meſſage to them requiring a ſpeedy Anſwer, *ibid.*

4. He propoſes to them, in another Meſſage, to aboliſh utterly *Ship-Money*, if they would grant him *Twelve* Subſidies, 417

The

CHARLES I. 1640. The Houſe has a Debate about it till ſix at Night, and come to no Reſolution; but put it off till next Day, Page 417

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CHARLES I. 1641. Jan. 12. A Petition is ſent from *Kent* againſt the Biſhops.

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15. The King paſſes the Act for *Triennial* Parliaments.

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12. *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Strafford*, is beheaded, *ibid.*

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16. The Witneſſes about the Plot to ſeduce the Army are examined, *ibid.*

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24. Count *Roſetti*, the Pope's Nuncio, is ordered to be brought to the Bar of the Houſe of Commons.

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20. *Matthew Wren* Biſhop of *Ely* is impeached, 173

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William Seymour Marqueſs of *Hertford* is made Governour to Prince *Charles*.

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Nov. 22. A *Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom* paſſes in the Houſe of Commons by Nine Voices only, 212, 221, &c.

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10. The King iſſues out a Proclamation, ordering that the Uſe of the Common-Prayer-Book ſhould be continued.

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11. Sir *John Byron* is removed from the Lieutenancy of the *Tower*, which is given to Sir *John Conyers*. 361

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28. Both Houſes petition the King to deſiſt from his Intention of going into *Ireland*, 440

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1642. May 19. They present a Remonstrance to him, Page 457--488

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22. King *Charles* concludes a Peace with *Portugal*.

June 2. The Parliament sends Nineteen Propositions to the King: They are rejected by him, 527---558

10. Both Houses publish Proposals for the borrowing of *Money* and *Plate* for the Defence of the Kingdom, 562

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18. Colonel *Goring* surrenders *Portsmouth* to the Parliament, 567

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22. A Fight at *Powick*-Bridge near *Worceſter*, where Prince *Rupert* gets the better, 14, 15

27. The King publiſhes a Declaration upon the two Houſes refuſing to treat about a Peace, 10

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23. The Battle of *Keinton* or *Edge-hill* is fought; it is doubtful which Side got the Victory, 17---21

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13. Sir *William Waller* takes *Wincheſter* for the Parliament, *ibid.*

17. The two Houſes publiſh a Declaration, in which they threaten to make uſe of Repriſals, if the King put any of his Priſoners of War to Death, 48

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28. The Negotiations for a Peace are begun at *Oxford*, 58

30. The Parliament borrows Money, for carrying on the War in *Ireland*.

Feb. 22. Queen *Henrietta* arrives from *Holland* in *Burlington*-Bay in *Yorkſhire*, 56

Mar. 1. *Lichfield* is taken for the Parliament; And 41

The Lord *Brooke*, one of the Parliament's Officers ſlain, *ibid.*

7. The Queen arrives at *York*, 56

An Ordinance is made for fortifying *London* by Lines and Out-works.

19. A Battle is fought at *Salt-Heath* near *Stafford*, 41

The King returns an Anſwer to the Petition of the General-Aſſembly of the *Kirk* of *Scotland*.

1643. *Apr.* 1. The Parliament makes an Ordinance for ſequeſtring the Eſtates of Delinquents.

James Butler, Marqueſs of *Ormond*, defeats the *Iriſh* Rebels at *Roſs*, 144

3. Prince *Rupert* takes *Birmingham*, 93

4. A Petition from ſome Proteſtant Officers in *Ireland* is preſented to the King, in which they deplored their Miſeries.

7. The King iſſues out a Proclamation, in which he forbids the paying any *Taxes* to the Parliament.

10. The Parliament make an Order about *Spies*, 51

The Treaty at *Oxford* is broken off without Succeſs, 92

16. *Robert Devereux* Earl of *Eſſex* beſieges *Reading*, 94

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1643. Apr. 19. The King publiſhes a Proclamation, in which he offers a Pardon to the Soldiers in the Parliament's Army, Page 94

21. Prince *Rupert* takes *Lichfield*, 93

23. The King ſends a Commiſſion to *James Butler* Marqueſs of *Ormond*, to treat with the *Iriſh* Rebels about a Truce, 144

25. Sir *William Waller* takes *Hereford*, 96

A Battle is fought in *Cornwal*, between Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Major *James Chudleigh*.

Reading is taken by the Parliament's Forces, 94

May 3. The King enjoins the Marqueſs of *Ormond* to haſten the Concluſion of the Truce with the *Iriſh*, 145

5. The Parliament orders the *Book of Sports* to be burnt, by the common Hangman, 184

11. The Lords Juſtices of *Ireland* write a Letter to the King, in which they repreſent the miſerable Condition of that Kingdom, for want of Succours, 145

Henry Grey Earl of *Stamford* is defeated near *Stratton* in *Cornwall* by Sir *Ralph Hopton*, 106, 107

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15. The Marqueſs of *Hamilton* is made a Duke, 118

A Declaration from the King is ſent into *Scotland*, *ib.*

20. The King requires of the Parliament, an Anſwer to his Meſſage from *Oxford*, about a Peace.

21. The Lord *Fairfax* takes *Wakefield* by Storm, 115

23. Queen *Henrietta* is accuſed by the Commons of High-Treaſon, 150

30. The Conſpiracy of *Tomkins* and *Challoner* is diſcovered, 150---154

June 6. Both Houſes unite themſelves by a new *Oath* or *Covenant*, 154

10. An Ordinance is made for ſequeſtring all the Temporal Livings, and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions belonging to Archbiſhop *Laud*.

12. An *Aſſembly of Divines* is called to meet at *Weſtminſter*, 120

14. The Queen comes to *Newark*.

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CHARLES I.

1643. June 16 The Parliament publiſhes a Declaration to encourage voluntary Contributions for the War in *Ireland*, Page 145

18. The Battle of *Chaldgrave*-Field, where *John Hambden* is ſlain, 98

22. Captain *John Hotham* is apprehended, and impriſoned, 167

The Eſtates of *Scotland* meet, 119

24. Subſcriptions are taken for carrying on the War in *Ireland*; the King approves of them, 145

29. *Hull* is preſerved for the Parliament, and Sir *John Hotham* apprehended, 166

30. *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax* is defeated on *Atherton-Moor*, by *William Cavendiſh* Earl of *Newcaſtle*, 115

July 1. The *Aſſembly of Divines* meets for the firſt Time, 120

2. The King writes to the Lord's-Juſtices of *Ireland*, to haſten the Concluſion of the Truce for a Year, 145

5. The Battle of *Lanſdown* is fought, in which Sir *William Waller* was forced to quit the Field, 110

Mr. *Tomkins* and *Challoner* are executed, 154

13. The Battle of *Roundway-down* in *Wiltſhire*, is fought, in which Sir *William Waller* is entirely routed, 112

The King and Queen join their Forces at *Edge-hill*.

Gainsborough in *Lincolnſhire* is taken for the Parliament, 115

Robert Pierrepoint Earl of *Kingſton* is ſlain.

17. The King forbids all Intercourſe of Trade with *London*.

19. The Aſſembly of Divines preſents a Petition to the Parliament.

The King makes a ſolemn Proteſtation at his receiving the Sacrament at *Oxford*, 169

20. He puts out a Proclamation, in which he enjoyns all Perſons not to obey the Orders of the two Houſes of Parliament.

21. An Inſurrection breaks out in *Kent*, and a Skirmiſh happens at *Tunbridge*, *ibid.*

Prince *Rupert* takes *Briſtol*, 100

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1643. July 25. The Parliament publiſhes a Declaration about the King's Conduct with regard to the Rebellion in *Ireland*, Page 170---182

30. *Oliver Cromwell* defeats a Detachment of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s near *Gainsborough*,

Auguſt, *William Cavendiſh* Earl of *Newcaſtle* takes *Gainsborough* and *Lincoln*, 115, 116

7. The Parliament's Commiſſioners arrive at *Edinburgh*, 120

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The Commons approve of them, and agree they ſhould be ſent to the King, 160

8. The City of *London* preſents a Petition againſt thoſe Propoſitions,

The Commons reverſe thereupon their former Reſolution, *ibid.*

9. Some Thouſands of *Women* go and preſent a Petition to the Commons, and cauſe a Tumult at *Weſtminſter*, *ibid.*

10. The King beſieges *Glouceſter*, 102

15. *Plymouth* is blocked up, 113

18. A *Covenant* between the two Nations is agreed upon in *Scotland*; and a Proclamation is iſſued out for levying Troops in that Kingdom, 127---137

Sept. 2. *William Cavendiſh* Earl of *Newcaſtle* beſieges *Hull*, 116

He is made Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, *ibid.*

5. *Robert Devereux* Earl of *Eſſex* forces the King to raiſe the Siege of *Glouceſter*, 102

7. The King writes a Letter to the Lord's-Juſtices of *Ireland* to haſten the Ceſſation, 146

12. Judge *Berkley* is fined twenty Thouſand Pounds, and committed to the Tower, 185

15. The Truce between King *Charles* and the *Iriſh* Rebels is ſigned, 146

20. The firſt Battle of *Newbury* is fought, 104

22. The Parliament takes the *Covenant*, 128

24. The Earl of *Crawford* is defeated at *Pool*.

25. *Exeter* ſurrenders to Prince *Maurice*, 113

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CHARLES I. 1643. An Ordinance is made for ſeizing the Revenues of the King, the Queen, and the Prince, Page 185

The King forbids by a Proclamation, all Tenants or Debtors to pay any Rents or Debts to ſuch as were in open Rebellion againſt him, *ibid.*

30. The Parliament publiſhes a Declaration againſt the Truce with the *Iriſh*, 146, 147

Oct. 11. Some of the King's Forces are routed at *Horn-Caſtle*, by *Edward Montague* Earl of *Manchester*, 116

12. The Siege of *Hull* is raiſed, *ibid.*

16. *Lynn* ſurrenders to the Earl of *Manchester*, 209

17. The King forbids a ſecond Time all Trade or Commerce with the City of *London*.

18. The Parliament makes an Order for treating as *Spies*, ſuch as came from the King at *Oxford* to *London*, 193, 194

Nov. 5. *Henry Rich* Earl of *Holland*, leaves the King, and comes back to the Parliament, 186

11. The Parliament orders a new *Great-Seal* to be made, 187

19. The King attempts to get *Glouceſter* delivered up to him, but miſcarries.

Part of the *Engliſh* Troops that had been employed in *Ireland* are brought over to ſerve the King, and land in *Flintſhire*, 147

21. They beſiege *Hawarden-Caſtle*, *ibid.*

24. The Aſſembly of Divines ſends Letters to the Proteſtant-Churches abroad, in which they vindicate the Parliament's Proceedings, 195

27. *Daniel Kniveton* one of the King's Meſſengers is hanged, 194

29. The Treaty between the Parliament and *Scotland* is concluded, 134

30. The new *Great-Seal* is delivered to the Commiſſioners, 189

Dec. 4. *Hawarden*-Caſtle is taken, 147

22. The King calls a Parliament at *Oxford*, conſiſting of thoſe Members that had deſerted the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, 197

The Siege of *Plymouth* is turned into a Blockade, 114

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CHARLES I.

1643-4 Jan. 19. The *Scotch* Army advances from *Berwick* into *England*, Page 205

22. They order *York* to be ſummoned.

The Lords of the Parliament at *Oxford* ſend a Letter to the Privy-Council of *Scotland*.

26. The Parliament at *Oxford* paſſes ſome Votes about the Entrance of the *Scots* into *England*, 203

Feb. 3. The *Scots* order *Newcaſtle* to be ſummoned, 205

6. *William Cavendiſh* Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* goes in purſuit of them, *ibid.*

7. The King makes a Speech to his Parliament at *Oxford*, to demand Aſſiſtance, 198

14. He borrows Money with the Advice of the Parliament at *Oxford*, by Letters under his Privy-Seal, 204

28. The *Scotch* Army paſſes the *Tyne*, 206

Mar. 9. The Members of the Parliament at *Oxford* publiſh a *Manifeſto*, concerning their being driven from *Weſtminſter*, 202

12. They paſs ſome Votes againſt the Parliament's Army, and againſt the new *Great-Seal*, 203

And about the *Weſtminſter*-Parliament's rejecting the Offers of Peace, 202

The Parliament at *Weſtminſter* publiſhes a Declaration, or Manifeſto, *ibid.*

18. The *Conſervators of the Peace* in *Scotland* ſend an Anſwer to the Letter of the Lords aſſembled in Parliament at *Oxford*.

22. The King iſſues out a Proclamation, ordering all thoſe that owe Service to the Crown, to repair to him by the 20th of *April*.

24. The *Scot*'s Army, and the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*'s, face one another, 206

1644. Mar. 26. An Ordinance is made by the Parliament, enjoyning every Family, in and about *London*, to forbear one *Meal* a Week, and contribute the Value of it towards carrying on the War, 246

29. Sir *William Waller* defeats Sir *Ralph Hopton* near *Alresford* in *Hampſhire*, 219

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1644. April 6. 11. *Waller* takes *Wincheſter*, and *Walton*-Houſe, Page 219
A Battle is fought at *Selby* in *Yorkſhire*, where Colonel *John Bellaſis* Governour of *York* is defeated, and taken Priſoner, 206

13. *William Cavendiſh* Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, returns to *York*, *ibid.*
One of the King's Spies is hanged at *Weſtminſter*, 246
The *Iriſh* Proteſtants and Papiſts, enter into ſome Negotiations with the King at *Oxford*.

16. The Parliament at *Oxford* is prorogued, 205

17. The Queen departs from *Oxford*, and retires into the *Weſt*, *ibid.*

20. *Lyme* in *Dorſetſhire* is beſieged by Prince *Maurice*, 223
The Lord *Fairfax* and the *Scot*'s Army block up *York*, 207

May 1. The Parliament makes an Ordinance againſt adjourning the Courts of Juſtice from *Weſtminſter* to *Oxford*.

6. *Edward Montague* Earl of *Mancheſter* becomes Maſter of *Lincoln*, 209

7. Colonel *Maſſy* takes *Weſtbury* in *Glouceſterſhire*.
A Diſpute ariſes between the two Houſes, about the Committee of both Kingdoms, 247

8. *Newnham* in *Glouceſterſhire* is taken by Colonel *Maſſy*.

9. Reinforcements of the *London*-Militia are ſent to the Earl of *Eſſex*, and to Sir *William Waller*, 220
An Ordinance is made for aboliſhing all the Monuments of Idolatry.

14. The King quits *Reading*, and demoliſhes the Fortifications,

15. *Robert Devereux* Earl of *Eſſex*, and Sir *William Waller* march towards *Oxford*, 221
The King ſends a Declaration to the Foreign Proteſtant-Churches.

16. *London* preſents a Petition to the Commons for continuing the Committee of both Kingdoms, 247

22. Colonel *Maſſy* takes *Beverſton*.

24. And *Malmsbury*; both in *Wiltſhire*.

Sir

CHARLES I.

1644. May 25. Sir *William Waller* and the Earl of *Eſſex* become Maſter of *Abington*, Page 221
27. *Patrick Ruthen* the King's General, is created Earl of *Brentford*, 219
29. The Earl of *Eſſex* lays Siege to *Oxford*, 222
Prince *Rupert* makes ſome Progreſs in *Cheſhire*, 208
June 3. The King withdraws from *Oxford*, 222
Edward Montague Earl of *Manchester* joins the Lord *Fairfax*, and the *Scots* that kept *York* blocked up, 210
York is beſieged, *ibid.*
4. The General-Aſſembly of *Scotland* writes a Letter to the Churches in the *Netherlands*.
5. Colonel *Maſſy* takes *Tewksbury* in *Glouceſterſhire*.
6. The King arrives at *Worceſter*, 222, 225
Robert Devereux Earl of *Eſſex* marches into the Weſt, and Sir *William Waller* purſues the King, 225
11. Prince *Rupert* takes *Liverpool*, 209
15. Prince *Maurice* raiſes the Siege of *Lyme*, 223
The King returns to *Oxford*, 225
16. The Princeſs *Henrietta* is born at *Exeter*, 223
Weymouth ſurrenders to the Earl of *Eſſex*.
19. Some Miſunderſtanding happens between the Earl of *Eſſex* and the Parliament, *ibid.*
The Earl of *Eſſex* becomes Maſter of *Dorcheſter*, 224
And *Taunton* is alſo taken for the Parliament, 225
21. The King departs from *Oxford*, after having been joined by his Foot, which he left there when he went to *Worceſter*, *ibid.*
29. Sir *William Waller* is defeated at *Cropedy*-Bridge, 226
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Robert Sidney Earl of *Leiceſter*, returns to *London*, 250
30. Prince *Rupert* approaches *York*, 211
July 1. He cauſes the Siege of that City to be raiſed, *ibid.*
The King marches towards the Weſt of *England*, 228
2. The Battle of *Marſton-moor* in *Yorkſhire* is fought; in which Prince *Rupert* is defeated, 213

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1644. July 4. The King ſends from *Eveſham* a Meſſage to both Houſes to treat of a Peace, 229

12. The Trained-Bands of *London* that were in Sir *William Waller*'s Army return home, 228

The *States* of the *United Provinces* offer their Mediation to the Parliament, 250

15. *York* capitulates, 216

23. The King makes a Speech to the Inhabitants of *Somerſetſhire* at *King's-moor*, 230

26. *Robert Devereux* Earl of *Eſſex*, enters *Cornwal*, 231

The King comes to *Exeter*, 232

The Earl of *Calendar* blocks up *Newcaſtle*, 216

27. Major *Myn* is defeated by Colonel *Maſſey*, and ſlain.

Aug. 6. The King writes a Letter to the Earl of *Eſſex*, to ſollicit him to embrace his Party, 233

10. *Wareham* in *Dorſetſhire* ſurrenders to the Parliament.

The *Scots* Army lays Siege to *Newcaſtle*, 216

14. *Henry*, Lord *Wilmot*, is arreſted by the King's Order, 233

Robert Earl of *Eſſex* is hard preſſed by the King's Forces in *Cornwal*, and reduced to great Extremity, 234

Sept. 1. He contrives a Way to ſave his *Cavalry*. Then he abandons the *Foot*, and retires to *Plymouth*, *ibid.*

The Foot capitulate with the King, and have leave to retire, leaving their Arms behind, 234, 235

James Graham Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, obtains a Victory over the *Scottiſh* Covenanters at *Perth* in *Scotland*, 317

2. The Earl of *Eſſex* comes to *Portſmouth*, to receive there Recruits for his Army.

Charles Lewis Elector-*Palatine*, comes to *England*, and is complimented by both Houſes of Parliament, 238

8. The King ſends a Meſſage, from *Taviſtock*, to the Parliament, with Offers of Peace; but without Succeſs, 237

10. King *Charles* attacks *Plymouth* in vain, 238

CHARLES I.

1644. Sept. 12. The Marqueſs of *Montroſs* obtains a Victory at *Aberdeen* in *Scotland*, Page 317

17. The King becomes Maſter of *Barnſtaple* in *Devonſhire*, 239

18. Some of his Forces are worſted at *Montgomery* in *Wales*.

Sir *William Fairfax*, eldeſt Son to *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax*, is ſlain there.

Several Miniſters of the City of *London* preſent a Petition to the Houſe of Commons.

26. Colonel *Maſſey* takes *Monmouth*.

27. The King writes to the *Elector-Palatine* to know the Reaſon of his coming, 238

30. King *Charles* marches towards *London*: And publiſhes a Proclamation, in which he requires the Inhabitants of the Quarters through which he ſhould paſs, to prepare themſelves with the beſt Arms they could get, and come and join him, 240

Octo. 11. The Lords *Mac-guire*, and *Mac-mahon*, two *Iriſh* Papiſts, are tried and condemned, 252

14. The *Scots* ſummon *Newcaſtle* to ſurrender.

23. *Newcaſtle* ſurrenders to them at Diſcretion, 216

24. The Parliament orders that no Quarter ſhould be given to *Iriſh* Soldiers taken in Arms againſt the Parliament, 251

25. *James Compton* Earl of *Northampton*, relieves *Banbury*-Caſtle that was beſieged, 242

27. The ſecond Battle of *Newbury* is fought, 243

Nov. 1. Sir *John Meldrum* takes *Liverpool* for the Parliament.

10. The King takes away his Cannon and Baggage out of *Dennington*-Caſtle, in ſight of the Enemies, 244

19. *Monmouth* is retaken for the King.

Oliver Cromwell accuſes *Edward Montague* Earl of *Mancheſter*, before the Parliament, of not having done his Duty at the Battle of *Newbury*, 294

20. The Parliament ſends to the King Propoſitions for a Peace, 256

CHARLES I.

1644. Nov 22. The Lord *Mac-Mahon* is executed, and the Lord *Mac-guire* the 2d of *February* following, Page 252

Dec. 9. The *Self-denying* Ordinance is voted for the first time, 298

A Reſolution is taken by the Parliament to *new-model* the Army, *ibid.*

16. Sir *John Hotham*, and his Son Captain *John Hotham*, are tryed and condemned, 168

23. Sir *Alexander Carew* is beheaded, for attempting to deliver up *Plymouth* to the King, 114

26. *Roger Leſtrange* is condemned, for trying to reduce *Lynn* to the King's Obedience; but reprieved, 479

1644. Jan. 1. Captain *John Hotham* is executed, and his Father Sir *John* the next Day, 168

10. *William Laud* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* is beheaded, 252---254

15. The Houſe of Lords throws out the *Self-denying* Ordinance, 300

21. The Army is *new-modelled*, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* appointed General, 299

30. The Negotiations for a Treaty of Peace are begun at *Uxbridge*, 255

Feb. 2. *James Graham* Marqueſs of *Montroſs* gains a Victory at *Innerlogh*.

19. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* comes to the Houſe of Commons, and is complimented by the Speaker,

1645. Apr. 2. *Robert Devereux* Earl of *Eſſex*, *Baſil Fielding* Earl of *Denbeigh*, and *Edward Montague* Earl of *Mancheſter* ſurrender their Commiſſions, 300

3. The Lords paſs the *Self-denying* Ordinance, *ibid.*

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* new-modells the Army, 302

4. The Marqueſs of *Montroſs* is defeated at *Dundee*.

11. An Ordinance is paſſed for exempting the Univerſity of *Cambridge* from Taxes, and for Regulating it.

24. *Oliver Cromwell* defeats a Brigade of the King's Horſe at *Iſlip-Bridge*, 303

Colonel *Windebank* is ſhot to Death. 304

26. The Parliament makes an Order, that none ſhould preach, but ſuch as were ordained.

CHARLES I.

1645. Apr. 28. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* marches towards the *Weſt*, to relieve *Taunton*, Page 304

May 4. He receives an Order to march back, *ibid.*

Colonel *Welden* is ſent by him with ſome Troops, to the Relief of *Taunton* in *Somerſetſhire*.

Cromwell is repulſed at *Farington*, *ibid.*

7. The King takes the Field, and marches to the Relief of *Cheſter*, which was beſieged by Sir *William Brereton*, 305

12. The Siege of *Taunton* is raiſed, 304

17. At the King's Approach the Siege of *Cheſter* is raiſed; whereupon his Majeſty alters his Courſe, 305

General *Fairfax* receives Orders to go and beſiege *Oxford*, *ibid.*

22. He approaches that City, and begins the Siege, *ib.*

The King takes *Leiceſter* by Storm, *ibid.*

Colonel *Welden* is beſieged in *Taunton*, 304

June 4. King *Charles* marches to *Harborough* in *Leiceſterſhire*, 306

5. General *Fairfax* raiſes the Siege of *Oxford*, to go and meet the King, 305

He is repulſed in an Aſſault upon *Borſtal*-Houſe, 306

Oliver Cromwell is made Commander of the Horſe, notwithſtanding the *Self-denying* Ordinance, 305

14. The Battle of *Naſeby* in *Northamptonſhire* is fought, in which the King is entirely routed, and loſes all his Artillery and Baggage, 309, 310

18. *Leiceſter* ſurrenders to General *Fairfax*, 311

20. He marches into the Weſtern Parts, *ibid.*

25. A Remonſtrance from the Kirk of *Scotland* is preſented to the King at *Hereford*.

28. The *Scots* become Maſters of *Carliſle*, 317

July 2. The Marqueſs of *Montroſs* obtains a Victory at *Alford*,

And another more conſiderable at *Kilſyth*.

3. General *Fairfax* comes to *Dorcheſter* in *Dorſetſhire*.

He confers with the *Club-men*.

7. *Sligo* in *Ireland* is beſieged, and the Archbiſhop of *Tuam* happens to be killed there. In his Pockets

are

CHARLES I. 1645. are found Copies of the full Powers granted by King *Charles* for treating with the *Iriſh* Rebels, 325

July 8. An Order is made by the Parliament for raiſing Ten Thouſand Pounds for the Redemption of the *Captives* in *Algiers*.

10. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* defeats General *Goring* at *Longport* in *Somerſetſhire*, 311

20. *Bridgewater* is ſtormed by the Parliament's Forces.

21. *Pontfract* in *Yorkſhire* is taken for the Parliament, 318

22. *Bridgewater* in *Somerſetſhire* is alſo taken, 311

29. As is likewiſe *Bath*, *ibid.*

31. The *Scots* lay Siege to *Hereford*, 317

Aug. 5. The Parliament publiſhes a Declaration concerning the Embaſſy of the *States* of the *United Provinces* to *England*.

6. *Cromwell* puts four Thouſand *Club-men* to rout.

7. The Commons vote to ſend Propoſitions for Peace to the King.

Edward Somerſet Earl of *Glamorgan* concludes a Treaty with the Confederate *Iriſh Catholicks*, having full Powers from the King for that Purpoſe, 328—335

15. *Sherborn* in *Dorſetſhire* capitulates.

An Ordinance is paſſed by the Parliament, for putting the *Directory* in Execution.

23. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* beſieges *Briſtol*, 311

24. The King takes *Huntingdon*, 318

27. *Edward* Lord *Littleton*, Keeper of the Great-Seal, dies, 319

Sept. 6. Lieutenant-General *David Leſley* goes into *Scotland*, with a Party of Horſe and Dragoons, 318

13. The Marqueſs of *Montroſs* is defeated at *Philiphaugh*.

He withdraws into the *Highlands*.

Several Royaliſts are executed at *Edinburgh*.

Prince *Rupert* ſurrenders *Briſtol*.

15. The Parliament publiſhes a ſecond Declaration concerning the Embaſſy from the *States* of the *United Provinces*.

The *Scots* raiſe the Siege of *Hereford*, 317

23. *Oliver Cromwell* becomes Maſter of the *Devizes*, 312

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1645. Sept. 24. The King is defeated near *Cheſter*, Page 319
Bernard Stewart Earl of *Lichfield* is ſlain, 320
26. *Cromwell* takes *Berkley*-Caſtle in *Glouceſterſhire*, 312
28. An Ordinance is made for ſettling Ten Thouſand Pounds a Year on the Earl of *Eſſex*.
Octob. 5. *Cromwell* becomes Maſter of *Wincheſter*-City and Caſtle, 313
10. *Chepſtow*-Caſtle in *Monmouthſhire* is taken by Colonel *Morgan*.
George Lord *Digby* is routed at *Sherburn* by Colonel *Copley*.
He is defeated a ſecond time in *Cumberland*, and eſcapes into *Ireland*.
Cheſter is beſieged by the Parliament's Forces.
14. *Baſing*-Caſtle is taken by Storm, 313
19. General *Fairfax* takes *Tiverton*, *ibid.*
22. *John Baptiſt Rinuccini*, the Pope's Nuncio, comes into *Ireland*.
Sir *William Vaughan* is defeated at *Denbeigh*.
Dec. 5. The King ſends a Meſſage to the Parliament, to propoſe a Peace, 321
8. *Hereford* is taken by Surprize for the Parliament.
15. The King ſends a *ſecond* Meſſage about a Peace, 321
26. And a *third*, with ſome Propoſitions, *ibid.*
The Parliament returns an Anſwer to the *Two* firſt Meſſages, 322
29. The King ſends a *fourth* Meſſage to the two Houſes, 323
1646. Jan. 7. The Supreme Council of Papiſts in *Ireland* ſends a Letter of Thanks to the Pope, for ſending the *Nuncio*.
9. General *Fairfax* takes a Brigade of Horſe, at *Bovey-Tracy* in *Devonſhire* belonging to the Prince of *Wales*, 314
13. The Parliament ſends an Anſwer to the King's Meſſages of the 26th and 29th of *December*, 323, 324
15. The King ſends a *fifth* Meſſage to both Houſes, 323

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CHARLES I.

1641. Jan. 18. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* takes *Dartmouth* by Storm, Page 314

21. The Parliament appoints *Philip Sidney*, Lord *Liſle*, to be Chief Governour of *Ireland*.

24. The King makes a Reply to the Anſwer of the Two Houſes, 324

27. *Exeter* is blocked up, 314

29. The King ſends a *Sixth* Meſſage to the Parliament, 326

Feb. 18. A Battle is fought at *Torrington*, where *Ralph* Lord *Hopton* is defeated by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, 315

20. Both Houſes of Parliament make an Ordinance for chuſing *Ruling-Elders* in every Pariſh.

23. General *Fairfax* marches into *Cornwal*, 315

Charles Prince of *Wales* retires into *Scilly*, 316

26. The King ſends a *Seventh* Meſſage about a Peace.

March 14. *Ralph* Lord *Hopton* capitulates with General *Fairfax*, 316

His Army is disbanded.

23. The King ſends an *Eighth* Meſſage concerning a Peace.

1646. *Mar.* 31. Votes are paſſed by the Parliament, on a Rumour of the King's intending to come privately to *London*. And an Order is made for all thoſe that had born Arms againſt the Parliament to depart from *London*.

April 1. *Dennington*-Caſtle in *Berkſhire* is taken by the Parliament.

3. An Ordinance is made for eſtabliſhing a *Court-Martial*.

9. *Exeter* capitulates, 317

12. *Barnſtable* in *Devonſhire* is taken.

The Parliament cauſes the *Preface* to the Book of the *Scotch Papers* to be burnt by the common Hangman.

17. Both Houſes put out a Declaration, in which they manifeſt their Intentions to maintain the Ancient and Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, according to the Covenant and Treaties.

CHARLES I.

1646. *Apr.* 18. General *Fairfax* marches towards *Oxford*, Page 336

26. *Woodſtock* ſurrenders to the Parliament.

Bridgnorth in *Shropſhire* is likewiſe taken.

27. The King departs from *Oxford*, 338

John Williams Archbiſhop of *York*, ſides with the Parliament.

May 1. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* comes before *Oxford*.

4. Both Houſes make an Order for diſcovering the King if he was in *London*, upon pain of Death.

5. King *Charles* goes to the *Scots* Army, 338

6. He orders *Newark* in *Nottinghamſhire* to be ſurrendered up to the *Scots*.

Banbury is taken by the Parliament's Troops.

7. The *Scots* Army marches Northwards, and comes to *Newcaſtle*, carrying the King along with them, 341

June 10. The King ſends a Meſſage to both Houſes from *Newcaſtle*, *ibid.*

11. The King orders *James Butler* Marqueſs of *Ormond* to break off the Treaty with the *Scots*.

Major-General *Monroe*, Commander of the *Scotch* Forces in *Ireland*, is defeated at *Benburgh*.

24. *Oxford* capitulates, and ſurrenders upon Articles.

27. The Propoſitions for Peace, that were to be ſent to the King, are approved by both Houſes, 342

29. The *Scotch* Army publiſhes a Proclamation, to juſtify their Proceedings, with regard to the King's coming to take Refuge among them, *ibid.*

July 3. *Charles* Prince of *Wales* eſcapes into *France*.

6. The Commons vote that *England* had no further need of the *Scots* Army, 343

17. Both Houſes give Audience to the Preſident *de Bellievre*, Embaſſadour from *France*.

19. *Worceſter* is taken.

22. And ſo is alſo *Wallingford*.

24. The Parliament's Commiſſioners preſent the Propoſitions for Peace to the King at *Newcaſtle*, 343

28. Prince *James* Duke of *York* is conducted to St. *James's*, 410

The

CHARLES I. 1646. The Princeſs *Henrietta* is carried over into *France*, Page 410

July 30. A Peace is proclaimed between King *Charles* and the *Iriſh Rebels.*

Aug. 1. The King returns only a general Anſwer to the Parliament's Propoſitions, 344

9. *Conoway* in *North-Wales* is taken for the Parliament.

11. The Parliament orders the *Great-Seal* that was brought from *Oxford* to be broken to Pieces.

12. Part of the *Popiſh* Clergy in *Ireland* publiſhes a Declaration againſt the Peace concluded by the Council of *Kilkenny* with the Marqueſs of *Ormond.*

The Pope's Nuncio is declared Supreme Commander of that Party of the Clergy.

17. *Ragland*-Caſtle in *Wales* is taken for the Parliament.

As is alſo *Pendennis*-Caſtle in *Cornwal.*

Conferences paſs between the Parliament and the *Scots* Commiſſioners about the Arrears due to the *Scot*'s Army, 346

27. The Parliament agrees to allow them Four Hundred Thouſand Pounds, *ibid.*

Sept. 14. *Robert Devereux* Earl of *Eſſex* dies, 359

Conferences between the Parliament and the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, about the manner how to diſpoſe of the King's Perſon, 348, 349---354

Octob. 9. An Ordinance is made by the Parliament for ſelling the *Biſhops Lands*, and applying the Money towards the payment of the publick Debts.

Nov. 13. *George Monk* a Priſoner in the *Tower*, takes the *Covenant*, and embraces the Parliament's Party, 148

Dec. 20. The King ſends a Meſſage to both Houſes to demand a perſonal Treaty, 354

From *October* to *February* 1646-7, Negotiations paſſed between *James Butler* Marqueſs of *Ormond*, and the Parliament's Commiſſioners, for getting *Dublin* delivered up by the Marqueſs to the Parliament; but all to no purpoſe, 408

The

CHARLES I.

1647. Jan. 16. The Parliament of *Scotland* notifies to That of *England*, that they conſented the King ſhould be delivered up to them, and conducted to *Holmby*-Houſe in *Northamptonſhire*, Page 354

The *Scottiſh* Parliament publiſhes a Declaration about that Matter, 355—357

30. King *Charles* is delivered up to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *England*, and the *Scots* ſet out from *Newcaſtle* to return to *Scotland*, 357

Feb. 16. The King arrives at *Holmby*, *ibid.*

1647. Mar. 30. Some Officers of the Army prepare a Petition, which is by the Commons voted to be ſeditious, 360

April 1. Differences begin to ariſe between the Parliament and the Army, 363, &c.

2. Major-General *Philip Skippon* is appointed Commander of the Army that was to go into *Ireland*, 362

N. B. The Parliament's Deſign was to pick out of the whole Army a certain Number of Officers, and of Horſe and Foot Soldiers, out of which an Army was to be formed for the Service in *Ireland*, and the Garriſons in *England* ſupplied, and then to disband the reſt of the Army. But the Army was unwilling to be disbanded, and ſought for Occaſions of Quarrelling with the Parliament, in order to come either to an open Rupture, or to procure an Accommodation, by which it ſhould be left upon the ancient Footing, 358

8. The Houſe of Commons nominates the *Regiments of Horſe* that were to be continued, at which the reſt are diſſatisfied.

9. Both Houſes agree to augment the Pay of the Officers and Soldiers that ſhould ſerve in *Ireland*, 362

13. The Parliament appoints Commiſſioners to go and make Propoſitions to the Army about the Service of *Ireland*, *ibid.*

15. The Commiſſioners call the Officers together. Several engage to ſerve in *Ireland*; others, and much

the

CHARLES I. 1647. the greater Number, deſire Time to conſider of it, Page, 366

Apr. 19. Some *Scotch* Commiſſioners preſs the King to take the Covenant.

Great Oppoſition is found in the Army about the Service of *Ireland*, 366

27. The Commons vote to disband the Army, 365

One hundred and fifty one Officers preſent a Declaration to the Houſe of Commons, to vindicate themſelves, 363

30. Major-General *Skippon* preſents to the Houſe a Letter from eight Regiments of Horſe, who refuſed to ſerve in *Ireland*, 365

Skippon, *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and *Fleetwood* are ſent to the Army to ſatisfy them, *ibid.*

May 1. *Philip Sidney* Lord *Liſle* returns from *Ireland*.

4. An Ordinance is made for changing the Officers of the *Militia* of *London*, 393

8. The Army makes great Oppoſition to the Parliament's Orders and Deſigns, 366

The Univerſity of *Oxford* is viſited by Commiſſioners appointed by the Parliament.

Such of the Members of it as refuſed to take the *Covenant*, &c. are expelled.

14. The Houſe of Commons offers ſix Weeks Pay extraordinary, to the Officers and Soldiers that would go into *Ireland*, 366

The Council of *Agitators* is ſet up, *ibid.*

18. The King returns an Anſwer to the Propoſitions ſent to him at *Newcaſtle*, with ſome Reſtrictions.

The Commons vote that all the Forces that would not engage to ſerve in *Ireland* ſhould be caſhiered, 367

21. An Ordinance is made for granting an *Indemnity* to the Army.

25. And another Ordinance for *disbanding* the Army ſeparately, and in different Bodies, *ibid.*

29. The Army is not ſatisfied with the Terms on which it was to be disbanded, *ibid.*

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CHARLES I. 1647. The Diviſion between the Parliament and the Army increaſes, Page 370

June 1. The Commons order a *Month's Pay* to thoſe Forces that were drawn to ſerve in *Ireland*, 369

3. They paſs ſome Votes for ſatisfying the Army, 367

4. The King is carried away by force from *Holmby*, by Cornet *Joyce*, with a Detachment of fifty Horſe, 371

5. The Army preſents a Repreſentation to General *Fairfax*, againſt their being disbanded, 372

They ſign an *Engagement*, to keep themſelves from being disbanded, 373

The Parliament votes, That the Soldiers ſhould have their full Pay upon disbanding, 369

6. A Petition is preſented from the County of *Eſſex* to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, deſiring him not to ſuffer the Army to be disbanded, till the Kingdom was freed from the Vaſſalage of the Parliament, 374

7. New Commiſſioners are ſent to the Army to appeaſe it.

8. The City of *London* petitions the Parliament for Leave to raiſe Horſes for their own Defence, 376

An Ordinance is accordingly made by both Houſes for that Purpoſe, *ibid.*

The Parliament revokes the Declaration of the 30th of *March*, concerning the firſt Petition of the Army's Officers.

Feſtivals are aboliſhed.

The Houſe of Commons gets a Regiment of the *Militia* of *London* for a Guard.

10. They vote to confirm and renew the *Self-denying* Ordinance, 376

The King is conducted to *Newmarket*, 372

11. The Army marches towards *London*, 376

An Order is made for raiſing Forces for the Defence of the Parliament and City of *London*, 377

The Parliament paſſes ſome Votes in order to ſow Diſſentions in the Army, *ibid.*

Petitions

CHARLES I.

1647. Jun. 12. Petitions from *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* are preſented to General *Fairfax*, againſt the Tyranny of the Parliament, Page 374

13. A Month's Pay is ordered to the Army, provided they did not draw their Quarters nearer *London* than twenty Miles, 378

14. The Army publiſhes a Repreſentation or Manifeſto, in which they deſire that the Parliament would fix a Time for their Diſſolution, 378, 379

15. A Petition is preſented from *Buckinghamſhire* to the General, againſt the disbanding the Army, 381

16. The Army accuſes *Eleven* Members of the Houſe of Commons of Treaſon, 379---381

The Parliament repeals the Order for the raiſing of Forces, and the Arming the *Militia* of *London*, 377

A Petition from ſeveral Inhabitants of *Hetfordſhire* is preſented to General *Fairfax*, againſt disbanding the Army, 381

Glamorganſhire ſends Deputies to *London* to complain of the Tyranny and Oppreſſion of the Parliament, *ibid.*

An Inſurrection in *Glamorganſhire*.

23. The Army ſends up a Remonſtrance to the Parliament, 382, 383

25. The Commons refuſe to ſuſpend the *Eleven* impeached Members from ſitting in the Houſe, 384

26. The Army advances towards *London*, 385

The Eleven Members deſire Leave to abſent themſelves.

The Army delivers her Reaſons againſt the *Eleven* Members.

The Parliament paſſes ſome Votes in order to ſatisfy the Army, 382

30. The Army removes at a further diſtance from *London*, 385

July 1. They diſown the having made any private Treaty with the King, 388

The Parliament's Commiſſioners are empowered to treat with the Army, 384

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1647. The King is carried to *Windſor*.
July 2. The Treaty between the Parliament's Commiſſioners and the Army begins.
The Army ſends to the Houſe of Commons a particular Charge againſt the *Eleven Members*.
13. The *Apprentices* in *London* preſent a very *humble* Petition to the Parliament, 389
14. Another Petition of a different Nature is preſented by *Apprentices* of a contrary Party, 395
15. The Army in the North publiſhes a Declaration of their free Conſent and Coherence with the Army under the Command of General *Fairfax*, 390
20. The *Eleven* accuſed Members obtain Leave to withdraw for ſix Months, and even to go beyond Sea, 390
The Army demands that the *Militia* of the City of *London* ſhould be put again upon the ſame Foot it was before the 4th of *May*.
23. An Ordinance is accordingly made for that Purpoſe.
An *Engagement* againſt the Army is ſigned by vaſt Numbers of Perſons in *London*, 392
The Parliament forbids the ſigning of it, 393
A Petition is preſented by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, *&c.* of *London*, for re-eſtabliſhing the *Militia*, according to the Ordinance of *May* 4, *ibid.*
26. Vaſt Numbers of People flock to *Weſtminſter*; by whom the Parliament is compelled to revoke the Ordinance of *July* 23, concerning the *Militia*, the Declaration againſt the ſolemn *Engagement*, and to conſent to the King's coming to *London*. 395
The Army advances towards the City of *London*, which puts itſelf in a Poſture of Defence, 396
29. General *Fairfax* ſends a Letter to the Common-Council of *London*. 397
30. The two *Speakers*, (the Earl of *Mancheſter* and Mr. *Lenthall*) with ſeveral Members of both Houſes, having abſented themſelves; new *Speakers* are choſen, *viz.* *William* Lord *Grey* of *Warke*, and Mr. *Pelham*. 396

The

CHARLES I. 1647. The Commons vote that the King ſhould come to *London*; and they empower that City to raiſe Forces, and appoint Commanders, Page 396

July 31. The City of *London* makes Preparations to defend itſelf againſt the Army, 397---399

The *Lord-Mayor* and Aldermen, *&c.* publiſh a Declaration about the City's Differences with the Army, 397

The Parliament paſſes ſeveral Votes, in order to procure an Accommodation with the King, 398

Both Houſes ſend General *Fairfax* Word that they had no need of his Aſſiſtance, *ibid.*

Aug. 1. Propoſals are agreed upon by the Army for regulating the Government of the Kingdom, 399, and 412---419

N. B. The Troubles hindered theſe *Propoſals* from being preſented, at this time, to the Parliament.

2. Both Houſes invite the King to come to *London*.

The Army comes to *Colebrook* in *Buckinghamſhire*.

The City of *London* ſends a Letter to the General, 406

The Army publiſhes a *Manifeſto*, containing the Reaſons of their marching to *London*, 401---405

3. The Army comes to *Hounſlow*, 405

The City of *London* ſubmits to General *Fairfax*, 406

4. The King denies his having had any Hand in the *Plots* againſt the Army.

5. The Army advances as far as *Hammerſmith*.

6. General *Fairfax* comes to *London*, and reſtores the two Speakers [*Edward Montague* Earl of *Manchester*, and *William Lenthall* Eſq;] with *Sixty Six* Members that had abſented themſelves.

N. B. From this Day the Parliament was entirely governed by the Army.

The General receives the Thanks of both Houſes, 407

8. Colonel *Jones* gets a great Victory over the *Iriſh* Rebels near *Trym*.

14. An Ordinance is paſſed for Vindication of the Army, *ibid.*

General

CHARLES I. 1647. General *Fairfax* is made Conſtable of the *Tower*, Page 407

The Authors of the Tumult on *July* 26 are proceeded againſt, *ibid.*

15. The King comes to *Oatlands* in *Surrey*.

The Army preſents a Remonſtrance, for purging the Parliament of its corrupt Members, 408

21. An Ordinance is paſſed for annulling all the Acts made by the Parliament, from the 26th of *July* to the 6th of *Auguſt*, 407

24. The King is conducted to *Hampton*-Court, 410

26. The Commons agree to the Army's Propoſals for a Peace, 412--421

28. The Army offers ſix thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe for the Service of *Ireland*, 421

Sept. 2. An Ordinance is made for ſettling the *Militia* of *London*, on the foot it was put upon by the Ordinance of the 4th of *May*.

6. The *Scots* Commiſſioners refuſe their Concurrence to the Propoſitions for a Peace, 437

7. Colonel *Robert Hammond* is made Governour of the Iſle of *Wight*, 424

The *Scot*'s Commiſſioners give their Concurrence to the *Propoſitions of Peace* to be ſent to the King; but proteſt againſt ſome of the Articles, 439

Seven Lords, and ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons are accuſed of High-Treaſon, for being concerned in the Tumult of the 26th of *July*, 408

8. The Army's Propoſitions are preſented to the King, 412

12. The King returns an ambiguous Anſwer to them.

23. The Commons reſolve to preſs his Majeſty once more to give his Aſſent to them.

24. Sir *John Gayre* Lord-Mayor of *London*, is committed to the *Tower*, on account of the Tumult of the 26th of *July*, 408

Oct. 7. *Peter Du Moulin* is made Profeſſor of Divinity at *Oxford*.

18. The Houſe of Commons ſends up to the Lords ſixteen Propoſitions to be preſented to the King.

Monſieur

CHARLES I. 1647. Monſieur de *Believre* takes his Audience of Leave of the King and the Parliament.

Five Regiments of Horſe preſent Propoſitions to General *Fairfax*.

Nov. 1. The ſame Regiments preſent other Propoſals, as do alſo four Regiments more, and ſeven Regiments of Foot.

9. Thoſe Propoſals are rejected by the Council of War.

11. The King eſcapes out of *Hampton-Court*, and withdraws into the Iſle of *Wight*, Page 422---425

The Lord *Inchiquin* obtains a Victory in *Ireland* over the *Iriſh* Rebels.

16. The King writes a Letter to both Houſes, to demand a *Perſonal Treaty*, 429---435

26. The Lords propoſe to the Commons, to treat Perſonally with the King, upon Condition he would give his Aſſent to *four Preliminary Bills*, 437

27. The Commons agree to it, *ibid.*

Dec. 1. The Common-Council of *London* preſents a Petition to both Houſes, in which they acknowledge *the Parliament* to be *the Supreme Power*.

8. The Army ſends a Repreſentation to the Parliament.

9. The King ſends a Meſſage to both Houſes, for a Perſonal Treaty, 438

14. Commiſſioners are appointed to carry the *four Bills* to the King, *ibid.*

17. An Ordinance is made about the Election of *Common-Council-Men* in *London*.

20. The *Scotch* Commiſſioners proteſt againſt the ſending the Four Bills to the King, and are for treating with him without them, 438

24. The Four Bills are preſented to the King, 439

25. The *Scotch* Commiſſioners preſent to the King a Declaration of their Diſſent to the Bills, *ibid.*

26. A private Treaty is concluded between the King and the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, 442---450

30. Captain *Burley* forms a Plot to reſcue the King out of his Confinement in *Carisbrook*-Caſtle, 452

CHARLES I. 1647. General *Fairfax* gives Orders to Colonel *Hammond* to keep a ſtrict Guard upon the King: The Houſe of Commons approves of them, Page 452

The Parliament's Commiſſioners come back, highly diſſatisfied with the King's Anſwer, *ibid.*

The Army declares they would live and dye with the Parliament.

1647. Jan. 3. The Houſe of Commons votes, That no more *Addreſſes* ſhould be made to the King, nor Meſſages received from him, 453

11. The Army ſends a Declaration to the Houſe of Commons, in which they promiſe to adhere to the Parliament againſt the King.

15. The Lords concur with the Commons Vote, of preſenting *no more Addreſſes* to the King, 453

16. One Regiment of Horſe, and another of Foot, are quartered at *Whitehall*, and the *Meuſe*; to be a Guard to the Parliament, 467

17. The Army notifies, in a Declaration, that they had no Deſign to overthrow the Dignity of the *Peers*, as ſome affirmed.

19. The Houſe of Lords releaſes *ſix* of the impriſoned Peers, and draws up a Declaration upon that Subject, 511

A Plot is formed for ſeizing *Glouceſter*.

24. Captain *Burley*, who had endeavoured to ſtir up an Inſurrection, in order to reſcue the King, is condemned to dye, 452

27. The Eleven impeached Members are declared incapable of ever ſitting in the preſent Parliament, 502

The *Committee* of *Eſtates* in *Scotland* is called for the ſixth of *February*, 468

28. An Order is made for accuſing the *Eleven Members* of High-Treaſon, and alſo the *Seven Lords*, 502

31. Both Houſes paſs an Ordinance for dividing the ſeveral Counties into *Claſſical Presbyteries*.

Feb. 2. The Houſe of Commons fixes the Number of the King's Houſehold Servants to *Thirty*.

6. The *Committee* of *Eſtates* in *Scotland* meets, 468

The

CHARLES I.

1647. Feb. 8. The Commissioners of the Parliament of *England* come to *Edinburgh*, Page 468

The Committee of the General Assembly of the *Kirk* meets, 469

March 2. Colonel *Poyer* Governour of *Pembroke*-Castle in *Wales*, refuses to deliver it up to Adjutant-General *Fleming*, though he had Orders for it from General *Fairfax*, 477, 478

4. The Parliament of *Scotland* meets, 468

The House of Commons orders Colonel *Poyer* to be declared a Traytor, 478

7. Both Houses publish a Declaration, to vindicate their Conduct with respect to *Scotland*.

11. Captain *Wogan* withdraws into *Scotland* with a Company of Horse, 475

13. *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax*, the General's Father, dies, 466

By his Death the General becomes a Lord.

20. The House of Commons receives Information of a Design formed by the Royal Party to seize *Berwick*, 484

1648. Colonel *Langhorn* joyns Colonel *Poyer* in *Pembrokeshire*, 477

31. An Insurrection breaks out in *Wales*, 478

The Commissioners of the Kirk of *Scotland* oppose the Project of levying an Army against the Parliament of *England*, 469

The *Committee of Danger* returns an Answer to the *Commissioners* of the *Kirk*'s Demands, *ibid.*

Eighteen Lords, and Forty other Members of the Parliament of *Scotland* enter a Protestation against that Design, 475

April 10. The Troubles in *Wales* increase, 477

A Tumult happens in *London*, occasioned by some of the King's Friends, 483

The Parliament of *Scotland* resolves to raise an Army, 469---475

The Lord *Inchiquin* in *Ireland* embraces the King's Party, 440

CHARLES I.

1648. Apr. 21. *James* Duke of *York* eſcapes out of St. *James*'s, and withdraws into *Holland*, 484

The Parliament of *Scotland* prepares for War againſt *England*, 475

23. One *John Everard* gives Information of a Plot of the Army's, to diſarm and plunder *London*, 502

The Parliament reſtores the *Chains* belonging to the City of *London*, and permits the Common-Council to appoint *Philip Skippon* Major-General within the Lines of Communication, 503

25. Prince *Philip* obtains Leave to come to *England* to ſee his Brother *Charles* the Elector-Palatine.

May. Adjutant-General *Fleming* is defeated by Colonel *Poyer* in *Wales*, 478

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* ſeizes *Berwick*, 454, 484

3. The Parliament of *Scotland* ſends ſome Demands to the Commons of *England* about the King.

4. A Petition is preſented to both Houſes from the County of *Eſſex*, for a perſonal Treaty with the King.

5. The Parliament declares, that their Intention was to maintain the *Covenant* of both Kingdoms, 504

Carliſle is ſeized by Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, 484

9. The City of *London* is allowed to nominate a Committee for the diſpoſal of the Militia, 504

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13. The Army begins to march towards the *North*, 492

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16. The Inhabitants of *Surrey* preſent a Petition in behalf of the King, 505

18. Prince *Philip* the Elector *Palatine*'s Son, obtains Leave to raiſe a Thouſand Foot for the Service of *Venice*.

20. The Parliament and the City of *London* enter into a ſtrict Union together, 560

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N. B. From

CHARLES I. 1648. *N. B.* From this time the Parliament began to reſcue itſelf from the Slavery it was kept under by the Army, foreſeeing that the latter would be obliged to march either towards the North, or into *Wales*.

May 23. The Recorder and Aldermen of the City of *London* are diſcharged from their Impriſonment in the *Tower*, at the Requeſt of the Lord-Mayor and Common-Council.

24. The Houſe of Commons votes to treat with the King upon ſome certain Conditions, Page 507

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25. *Chepſtow*-Caſtle is retaken for the Parliament.

26. Eight Men of War, under the command of Vice-Admiral *Rainsborough*, revolt againſt the Parliament, and declare for the King, 485-487

29. General *Fairfax* marches into *Kent*, 480

June 1. He defeats the Revolters at *Maidſtone*, *ibid.*

3. The Commons order that the *Eleven* impeached Members ſhould be fully diſcharged, 511

5. *George Goring* Earl of *Norwich*, one of the Heads of the *Kentiſh* Malecontents is declared a Rebel.

Pontfract-Caſtle is ſurprized for the King, 490

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8. The Ships at *Portſmouth* ſubmit to *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*.

9. General *Fairfax* quells the Inſurrection in *Kent*, 480

10. He marches into *Eſſex*, 481

15. The Revolters are blocked up by him in *Colcheſter*, 482

26. The Parliament names a Committee of both Houſes, to appoint the Manner and Place of treating with the King, 511, 512

CHARLES I.

1648. *Jun.* 27. A Petition is preſented to the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, for a perſonal Treaty with the King, Page 512

June 30. The Lords paſs ſome Votes; for revoking the Vote of the 3d of *June*, forbidding any Addreſſes to his Majeſty; and, that the Propoſitions ſent into *Scotland* ſhould not be inſiſted upon. *ibid.*

July 3. It is reſolved by the Commons, That the King ſhould ſubſcribe the *Three Bills*, before a Treaty is ſet on Foot, 513

George Villiers Duke of *Buckingham*, *Henry Rich* Earl of *Holland*, and *Henry Mordaunt* Earl of *Peterburgh*, take up Arms for the King, 490, 491

6. They write to the City of *London*, to deſire her Aſſiſtance, 490

Charles, Prince of *Wales* comes to the revolted Fleet at *Helvoet-Sluice*, 487

7. The three Lords [mentioned juſt above] are declared Traitors by the Parliament, 491

They are defeated at *Kingſton upon Thames* by Colonel *Leveſey*, *ibid.*

8. The Lords deſire the Commons not to inſiſt upon the Three Bills, 513

10. The Duke of *Buckingham* and the Eal of *Holland* are entirely routed by Colonel *Scroop*, and the Earl of *Holland* taken Priſoner at St. *Neot*'s, 491

11. A Conference paſſes between a Committee of both Houſes, and a Committee of the Common-Council of *London*, 515

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12. *Oliver Cromwell* puts himſelf upon his March towards the North, *ibid.*

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17. The Inhabitants of *Weſtminſter* preſent a Petition for a Perſonal Treaty, 515

CHARLES I.

1648. July 22. The Commons order *Skippon* privately to list Soldiers, for fear the Mob should attempt to force them to a Compliance with the Lords: The Lord-Mayor complains of it, but in vain, Page 516

25. The Differences between the two Houses concerning the Three Bills continue, *ibid.*

26. *Charles* Prince of *Wales* comes before *Yarmouth*, 487

27. He publishes a Declaration.

28. The Commons give up at length the *Three Bills*, 523

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Major *Huntington* presents a Memorial to the House of Lords against *Oliver Cromwell*, 423

The Prince of *Wales* writes to the City of *London* about some Ships he had taken.

8. He writes to the House of Peers about the Treaty with the King, 527

The Common-Council of *London* petitions, that the King should be set at Liberty during the Treaty, *ibid.*

The Lords order Major *Huntington* Protection.

10. The King chuses *Newport*, in the Isle of *Wight*, for the Place of Treaty: And desires that some *Scots* Deputies may come there.

Colonel *Henry Lilburn*, Governour of *Tinmouth* in *Northumberland*, declares for the King.

14. *Charles* Prince of *Wales* lands in *Kent*, but is beaten back.

16. The Lords pass some Votes preliminary to the Treaty, 524

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17. The Commons examine the Lords Votes, and add some Restrictions to them, 524

CHARLES I.

1648. *Aug.* 18. They refuse to consent to any *Scottish* Commissioners being invited to the Treaty, Page 525

But they order however, That if any of that Nation should be sent for, to advise about the Affairs of *Scotland only*, they should be admitted, *ibid.*

19. Prince *Charles* threatens to use Reprisals, if the Colonels *Poyer*, *Langhorn* and *Powell* were put to Death.

The *Scots* Army commanded by *James* Duke of *Hamilton*, is entirely routed by *Cromwell*; and the Duke taken, 495---500

21. *Cromwell* marches towards the North against General *Monroe*, 532

27. *Colchester* surrenders at Discretion to General *Fairfax*, 500

29. Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Charles Lucas* are shot to Death, *ibid.*

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The Prince sails back to *Holland*.

Sept. 1. *Oliver Cromwell* continues his march towards *Scotland*, 532, 533

11. The *Independents* present a Petition to the Parliament full of Complaints and Reproaches against the Commons, 529---531

13. The Parliament's Commissioners set out from *London* for the Isle of *Wight*, 526

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18. The Treaty at *Newport* begins, 526, 534

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30. *Berwick* surrenders to *Cromwell*, 534

James

CHARLES I. 1648. *James Butler* Marqueſs of *Ormond* arrives in *Ireland.*

Octo. 7. The King ſtarts ſome Difficulties againſt the Parliament's Propoſitions, Page 535

11. *Oliver Cromwell* comes back to *England*, 534

Carliſle is reſtored to the *Engliſh*, *ibid.*

11. *Cromwell* comes to *Newcaſtle.*

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26. The King's Offers about *Epiſcopacy* and the *Covenant* are rejected, 538

29. Colonel *Rainsborough* is aſſaſſinated at *Doncaſter* in *Yorkſhire*, by a Party of the Garriſon of *Pontefract*, 548

30. The King's Propoſals about *Delinquents* are rejected, 541

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The King gives his final Anſwer concerning *Epiſcopacy*, 544

Colonel *Lambert* departs from *Scotland.*

11. The King's Anſwer is voted unſatisfactory, 545

17. Some of the Prince of *Wales*'s Ships join the Earl of *Warwick.*

A Re-

CHARLES I.

1648. Nov. 20. A Remonſtrance from the Officers of the Army is preſented to the Parliament by Colonel *Ewers*, Page 549

21. The Treaty being nigh concluded, General *Fairfax* recalls Colonel *Hammond* from his Government of the Iſle of *Wight*; and ſends Colonel *Ewers* in his room, with Orders to keep the King in cloſe Cuſtody, 553

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30. The Army marches towards *London*, and publiſhes a Declaration about it, 554---556

The King is removed to *Hurſt*-Caſtle in *Hampſhire*, by a Detachment from the Army, 554

Dec. 2. General *Fairfax* comes to *Whitehall* with ſeveral Regiments, 556

4. The Commons vote, that the removing the King to *Hurſt*-Caſtle was without their Conſent, 557

5. At five of the Clock in the Morning they vote, That the King's Conceſſions were ſufficient Grounds for ſettling the Peace of the Kingdom, *ibid.*

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7. He receives the Thanks of the Houſe of Commons, *ibid.*

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N. B. The Parliament conſiſted at preſent only of *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts*, &c.

11. The Army preſents to the General a *new Repreſentative* for ſettling the Government, 561

The

CHARLES I.

1648. Dec. 13. The Commons vote, That no further Addreſſes ſhould be made to the King, and that the Treaty of *Newport* was highly diſhonourable to the Nation.

15. A Proteſtation of the *ſecluded Members* is declared Scandalous, 562

16. An Ordinance is made by the Parliament for the Election of the Lord-Mayor and other Officers of *London*, *ibid.*

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19. *Scarborough* is delivered to the Parliament.

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21. A Petition from the Inhabitants of *Somerſetſhire* is preſented to the Parliament, deſiring that ſpeedy Juſtice may be executed upon the chief *Delinquents*, *ibid.*

23. A Committee is appointed to draw up a Charge againſt the *chief Delinquents*, *ibid.*

The Fleet concurs with the Army in their *Remonſtrance*, 565

25. The Inhabitants of *Norfolk* deſire by a Petition that *the King* might be brought to Juſtice, 564

James Butler Marqueſs of *Ormond* concludes a Peace with the *Iriſh* Rebels, but *Owen Roe O Neal* refuſes to come into it.

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Several other Petitions of the like Nature are preſented from ſeveral Parts, 564

27. An Order is made for leaving off all the uſual *Ceremonies* to the King, 565

Jan. 1. The Draught of an Ordinance is made for erecting a High-Court of Juſtice for trying the King, 566

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The

CHARLES I. 1648-9. January

The Ordinance, and the Commons Vote, are carried up to the Lords, who reject them, and adjourn from *Tueſday* till *Thurſday* Seven-night. Page 568

The Commons vote, That the Concurrence of the Lords was not neceſſary, *ibid.*

4. They vote again, That the People are the Original of all Power; and, That the Commons of *England*, repreſenting the People, have the Supreme thority, *ibid.*

6. The Ordinance for trying the King paſſes, 569

The Committee of the Eſtates of *Scotland* ſend a Letter to the Parliament, deſiring that the King might not be tried, without the Advice of their Nation.

9. A Herald makes Proclamation, that all People come in to give their Charge againſt the King.

The Soldiers, and other Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Wight*, petition that notorious Criminals be brought to Juſtice.

10. *John Bradſhaw* is nominated *Preſident* of the High-Court of Juſtice, 568

Petitions are ſent from *Exeter* and *Oxford* againſt the King: And alſo from the Common-Council of *London*.

The Parliament of *Scotland* declares for the *Covenant*; and likewiſe againſt the Tryal of the King, and againſt all Alteration in the Government. Thoſe that were concerned in the late War are not admitted into this Parliament.

18. Major-General *Maſſey* eſcapes from St. *James*'s, where he was Priſoner.

19. The King is brought from *Windſor* to St. *James*'s Palace, 565

North-Wales ſends up a Petition of the ſame Nature as the reſt.

The High-Court of Juſtice meets.

20. The King is brought before this Court.

He refuſes to Anſwer, 577

Some

CHARLES I. 1648/9. Jan. 22. Some Papers, and a Declaration from the Parliament of *Scotland* againſt the Tryal of the King, is preſented to the Houſe of Commons.
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23. The King refuſes a third Time to anſwer.
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The *INTERREGNUM*, OR THE COMMONWEALTH.

Vol. XIII.

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James

COMMONW. 1648. Mar. 9. *James* Duke of *Hamilton*, *Henry Rich* Earl of *Holland*, and *Arthur* Lord *Capel* are beheaded, Page 8---11

17. An Act is paſſed for aboliſhing *Kingly* Government, and turning the *Monarchy* into a *Commonwealth*, 6

1649. April. The new King gives *James Graham* Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, a Commiſſion to invade *Scotland*, 28

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July. *Cromwell* ſends a Reinforcement to the Garriſon of that City, *ibid.*

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29. He is defeated and taken Priſoner, 43, 44

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1650. May 21. *James Graham* Marquess of *Montross* is hanged and quartered at *Edinburgh*.

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21. *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax* resigns his Post of *General*, 51

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July 22. *Cromwell* enters *Scotland*, 53

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Sept. 3. The Battle of *Dunbar* is fought, in which *Cromwell* puts the *Scots* Army entirely to rout, 54

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1651. *Jan.* 1. King *Charles* II is crowned in *Scotland*, 60

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COMMONW.

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20. *Cromwell* doth, by his own Authority, turn all the Members out of the Houſe, and diſſolves the Parliament, 86, 87

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25. *Oliver* divides *England* into *Eleven* Diſtricts, and conſtitutes *Major-Generals* over each.
1656. *July* 26. He calls a new Parliament *of the three Kingdoms*, 121
Sep. 7. The Parliament meets; and is well affected towards *Cromwell*.
10. Admiral *Blake* takes two *Spaniſh* Ships richly loaden, 123
1656/7. *Jan.* A Conſpiracy is formed againſt *Cromwell* by one *Sindercombe*.
Feb. 9. *Sindercombe* is condemned, and found Dead in Priſon, 124
March 13. The *League* Offenſive and Defenſive between *France* and *Cromwell* is prolonged, 132
1657. *Apr.* 10. Several *Anabaptiſts* engage in a Plot againſt *Cromwell*'s Life, for which many are impriſoned, 124
20. Admiral *Blake* burns ſix *Spaniſh Galleons* at the *Canaries*. He dies in his Return to *England*, 124, 125

CROMWELL PROTECT.

1657. *May.* King *Charles* goes to reſide at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, in conſequence of a Treaty concluded by him with the King of *Spain*, Page 132

The Parliament offers to *Cromwell* the Title of King, 125---128

8. The *Protector* refuſes to accept of it, 129

He is confirmed in his *Protectorſhip* by an Act called *The Humble Petition and Advice*, *ibid.*

June 26. *Cromwell* is ſolemnly inaugurated in his Dignity of *Protector*, 131

The Parliament is prorogued.

Oliver ſends ſix Thouſand Men into *France* to join the *French* Army, 132, 133

Oct. 23. *Mardyke* Fort is taken, and delivered to the *Engliſh*, 133

Novem. Mr. *Lockhart* is ſent Embaſſadour to *France*, 134

1658. *Jan.* 20. The Parliament meets again, with the Addition of a new Houſe, called *The Other Houſe*, framed by *Cromwell* to ſupply the Place of the *Houſe of Lords*, 135

The Protector's Enemies cabal againſt him, *ibid.*

The excluded Members are received into the Parliament, 135

The Parliament begins to be diſaffected to *Cromwell*.

They call the Authority of *The other Houſe* in Queſtion; which is ſupported by the *Protector*, 136

The Parliament examines the Validity of *The Humble Petition and Advice*, *ibid.*

Feb. *Cromwell* diſſolves the Parliament, 139

J. Lambert is turned out of his Poſt of *Lieutenant-General*, and ſucceeded by *Fleetwood*, 139, 140

The Power of the *Major-Generals* is abridged, 140

1658. *April.* *Henry Cromwell* the Protector's ſecond Son, is made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, *ibid.*

Conſpiracies are formed by the *Royaliſts* againſt *Cromwell*, 140, 141

May 25. Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and Dr. *Hewet* are condemned, and executed, 141, 142

CROMWELL PROTECT.

1658. *Dunkirk* is beſieged by the *French*.

Jun. 14. The Battle of the *Dunes* is fought, in which the *Spaniards* are defeated, 143

25. *Dunkirk* is taken and delivered to *Cromwell*. Mr. *Lockhart* is made Governour of it, *ibid.*

Sept. 3. *Oliver Cromwell* dies, 144

4. *Richard Cromwell* is proclaimed Protector, 157

Nov. 24. The Funeral of *Oliver Cromwell* is ſolemnized, 159

RICHARD PROTECT.

Decemb. *Richard* calls a Parliament conſiſting of two Houſes, 162, 163

1658. *Jan.* He forms the Project of rendering himſelf Maſter of the Army, 164

The principal Officers of the Army combine againſt him, 164

The *Great Council of the Army* is formed at *London*, 165

They preſent a *Petition* to Protector *Richard*, who rejects it.

27. The Parliament meets. *ibid.*

Feb. Debates paſs in the Houſe of Commons about *The other Houſe*, and the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Members, 165

1659. *Mar.* 28. The Queſtion is decided in favour of the Members, and of *the other Houſe*, 166

An Act is made for acknowledging *Richard for Protector*.

April 6. The Officers preſent a Petition to *Richard*, in which they demand *Fleetwood* for General: Their Petition is rejected, 166

The Houſe of Commons votes againſt the holding any *Council of Officers*, *ibid.*

22. The Officers force *Richard* to diſſolve the Parliament, *ibid.*

Richard loſes all his Credit, 167

The *Officers* ſeize the Government, *ibid.*

They chuſe *Fleetwood* for their General, and caſhier ſeveral Colonels. 168

They

RICHARD PROTECT.

1659. May 8. They reſtore the long Parliament, diſſolved by *Cromwell* in 1653, Page 170, 171

This Parliament is called in Deriſion *The Rump*, 172

Thoſe Members that in the Year 1648 refuſed to ſign the *Engagement*, are excluded from it, *ibid.*

The new Parliament ſends *Thomas Clarges* to *George Monk*, who ſubmits to the Authority of the Parliament, 173

12. The Officers preſent a *Petition* to the Parliament, *ib.*

13. *Richard Cromwell* ſubmits to the *Parliament*, 177

PARLIAMT. *Henry Cromwell* is recalled from *Ireland*, 179

June. *Differences* begin to ariſe between the *Parliament* and the *Army*.

18. The Parliament continues the *Monthly Tax*, impoſed upon the whole Kingdom by the Parliament which ſat in 1656, 181

The *Royaliſts* form a Plot in favour of King *Charles* II. The *Presbyterians* come into it, 181, 182

The King repairs to *Calais*, and then to St. *Malo's*, 182

The *Royaliſts* are betrayed by Sir *Richard Willis*, *ibid.*

July. Sir *George Booth* ſeizes *Cheſter*, and publiſhes a *Manifeſto* againſt the Parliament, 182, 183

He is joined by Sir *Thomas Middleton*, 183

Aug. They are both defeated by *J. Lambert*, *ibid.*

Sir *George Booth* is taken, and committed to the *Tower*, *ibid.*

Sept. The King comes to St. *Malo's*, in his Way to *Fontarabia*; where he was going, in order to be preſent at the Treaty of Peace which was negotiating at St. *Jean de Luz*, 184---194

16. The Officers of the Army commanded by *J. Lambert* meet at *Derby*, and draw up a Petition to the Parliament, which is ſent to *London* to the Great Council of Officers, 185, 186

The Parliament votes againſt that Petition, 186

Octo. 5. The *Great Council of Officers* preſents a Petition to the Parliament, 187---191

PARLIAMT. 1659. The Officers ſuſpect the Parliament of ill Deſigns againſt the Army, Page 192
General *Monk* promiſes the Parliament to ſtand by them, 192, 193
10. The Parliament returns a haughty Anſwer to the Officers Petition, 192
J. Lambert comes to *London*, *ibid.*
The Parliament proceeds with Reſolution againſt the Officers, caſhiers ſeveral, and vacates *Fleetwood*'s Commiſſion, *ib.* & 193
13. *Lambert* hinders the Parliament from meeting, 193
ANARCHY. *George Fleetwood* places a ſtrong Guard at the Door of the Parliament-Houſe, 194
Several Officers of the Army are ſuſpended by the Council of Officers, *ibid.*
The Council appoints General *George Fleetwood* to be Commander in chief, 194
They ſend Colonel *Cobbet* to General *Monk*, to try to gain him to their Party, *ibid.*
COMMIT. of SAFETY. They erect a *Committee of Safety*, to whom they commit the Adminiſtration of the Government, 195
Oct. 26. General *Monk* reſolves to march into *England*, 197
The *Committee of Safety* ſends *Thomas Clarges* to him, to propoſe on Accommodation, 201, 202
Monk accepts of the Propoſal, in order to amuſe the *Committee*, 202
Nov. 15. The Treaty is concluded between General *Monk* and the *Committee of Safety*, contrary to *Monk*'s Intention, who refuſes to ratify it, 203
Decemb. The Members of the Parliament are very buſy in trying to reſtore themſelves, *ibid.*
Colonel *Whetham* Governour of *Portſmouth*, and Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, declare for the Parliament againſt the Army, 204
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PARLIA. again. 26. The *Rump*-Parliament is reſtored, and names a *Committee* to govern the Army, 205
Major-General *Lambert* is put under Arreſt by his own Soldiers, and ſent to the *Tower*, *ibid.*

General

PARLIAMT.

1659. Jan. 2. General *Monk* enters *England*, Page 207
The Parliament grows jealous of him, and desires him to stop his March, *ibid.*
A *Council of State* is formed into which *Monk* is admitted. Every Member of it is obliged to abjure *Charles* II, and the whole Royal Family, 208
General *Monk* receives in his March several *Addresses*, in which he is desired to restore the Members excluded from Parliament in 1648, 209
He uses great Dissimulation, 210
He desires that the Regiments quartered in the City should retire at a distance, and make room for his; which is granted him, 211
Feb. 3. General *George Monk* enters *London*, 212
He repairs to the *Council of State*, and refuses to take the *Abjuration-Oath*, *ibid.*
6. He goes to the Parliament, and receives the Compliments and Thanks of the *Speaker*, *ibid.*
8. The City of *London* refusing to pay *Taxes*, *Monk* is ordered by the Parliament to go and chastise ir, 215, 216
9. General *Monk* leads his Army into the City, and takes down the *Gates*, *Chains*, and *Portcullices* belonging to it: And then returns to *Whitehall*, 216
10. He repents of having done it. Whereupon he writes a Letter to the Parliament full of Complaints and Reproaches, and comes back into the City of *London*, 217
He reconciles himself to the Magistrates, 218
J. Lambert escapes out of the *Tower*, and puts himself at the Head of some Troops, 226
22. He is defeated, and made Prisoner by *Richard Ingoldsby*, *ibid.*
21. General *Monk* comes to *Whitehall*, attended by the *secluded* Members, to whom he gives a Guard to introduce them again into the Parliament, 221
The *Independent* Members withdraw, *ibid.*

COUNCIL of STATE.

1659. *Mar.* 17. The *Rump*-Parliament ſummons a *free Parliament*, compoſed of a Houſe of Peers, and a Houſe of Commons, and diſſolves it ſelf, 222

The *Republicans* endeavour to prevail with General *Monk* to take the Government upon himſelf, 223

1660. *Apr.* 25. The Parliament meets, 227

They reſolve to recall King *Charles* II, and reſtore him, 230, 231

CHAR. II.

May. 8. The King is proclaimed at *London*, 232

He comes to the *Hague*, *ibid.*

16. —Gives Audience to the Parliament's Deputies, *ib.*

23. —Embarks at *Scheveling*, *ibid.*

26. —Lands at *Dover*, *ibid.*

27. General *George Monk* is made *Knight of the Garter*, *ib.*

29. King *Charles* II arrives at *Whitehall*, 232

He forms his Council conſiſting of 30 Perſons, 240

The Parliament which met the 25th of *April* is owned by the King only as a *Convention*, 241

31. The King changes, by an Act, the *Convention* into a Parliament; and gives his Conſent to two other Acts; the one for continuing the *Monthly Tax* of *Seventy Thouſand Pounds* for three Months; and the other, for continuing all *Judiciary Proceedings*, *ibid.*

The two Houſes of Parliament accept of the *Pardon* offered by the King in his Declaration from *Breda*, 243

June 6. The King iſſues a Proclamation, in which he declares, That ſuch of the late *King's Judges* as did not ſurrender themſelves within *fourteen Days*, ſhould be excluded out of the *Act of Indemnity*, *ib.*

Some of the chief *Republicans* demand of the King particular Letters of Pardon, which are granted them, 244

The

CHAR. II.

1660. July 5. The City of *London* gives a ſplendid *Entertainment* to the King, the Princes his Brothers, the Great Officers of the Crown, and both Houſes of Parliament, Page 244

27. The *Act of Indemnity*, having been drawn by the Commons agreeably to the King's Declaration from *Breda*, and the Lords being for having ſeveral Exceptions made to it, the King earneſtly deſires the latter to make it conformable to his Declaration from *Breda* with ſome few Alterations, 245--247

Aug. 29. The King gives his Aſſent

To the *Act* of *Indemnity*, 247

To an Act for confirming all *Judicial* Proceedings from the 1ſt of *May* 1642, 248

To an Act for Proviſion of *Moneys* to *pay* off the *Armies* and *Navy*, *ibid.*

To an Act for fixing the *Intereſt of Money* at *Six per Cent.* *ibid.*

To an Act for a perpetual Anniverſary *Thankſgiving* on the 29th of *May*, *ibid.*

The King makes a Speech to the Parliament, in which he repreſents his Wants to them, 248

The Parliament makes Preſents to the King's Brothers; to the Duke of *York* 10,000 *l.* and to Prince *Henry* 7000 *l.* 249

The Commons vote to ſettle on the King a Revenue of Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds, *ibid.*

Sept. 13. The King adjourns the Parliament till the 6th of *November*, after having given his Aſſent to the following Acts, 249

To an Act for raiſing an Hundred Thouſand Pounds for a Supply of the King's Wants, *ib.*

An Act to impower and direct the Commiſſioners how to *diſband the Army*, and pay off part of the *Fleet*, *ibid.*

An Act for continuing for two Months longer the *Tax of Seventy Thouſand Pounds* a Month, *ibid.*

An Act for regulating the *Bay*-Trade, *ibid.*

An

CHAR. II. 1660. An Act for encouraging and increaſing *Shipping* and Navigation, Page 249

An Act for reſtoring ſome *Miniſters* to their Places, and confirming others in vacant Places, *ib.*

Sept. 13. *Henry* of *Oatlands* Duke of *Glouceſter*, dies of the Small-Pox, 249

The *Regicides* are brought to their Tryal, 250

Ten only of them are executed, viz. *Thomas Harriſon*, *John Carew*, *John Cook*, *Hugh Peters*, *Thomas Scot*, *Gregory Clement*, *Adrian Scrope*, *John Jones*, *Francis Hacker*, and *Daniel Axtel*, *ibid.*

The King publiſhes a Proclamation about Religion, which was not favourable to the *Presbyterians*, *ib.*

The Biſhops are reſtored: *Nine* of the old ones being alive.

Biſhopricks and *Eccleſiaſtical Benefices* are offered to the moſt eminent *Presbyterian*-Miniſters, but they all refuſe them except Dr. *Reynolds*, who accepts of the Biſhoprick of *Norwich*, 251

The *States* of the *United Provinces* ſend an Embaſſy to the King, and a good Number of excellent Pictures, *ibid.*

[*Octob.* *Mary* Princeſs Dowager of *Orange* comes to *London*, 251

Nov. 2. *Henrietta* the Queen Dowager, the Princeſs *Henrietta* her Daughter, and the Prince *Palatine Edward*, arrive in *England* from *France*, *ibid.*

The Princeſs *Henrietta* marries *Philip* Duke of *Orleans*, 252

The Parliament meets, *ibid.*

They ſend a Deputation to the *Queen-Mother* to congratulate her on her Arrival to *England*, *ibid.*

The Commons make a Preſent of 10,000 *l.* to each of the young Princeſſes her Daughters, *ibid.*

The *Queen-Mother* is highly diſpleaſed at the Marriage of *James* Duke of *York* with *Ann* Chancellor *Hyde*'s eldeſt Daughter, *ibid.*

The Parliament grants ſeveral Sums for disbanding the Army, 253

The

CHAR. II. 1660. The King disbands it all except General *Monk's* Regiment, Page 253

He forms for his *Guard two Regiments*, one of Horſe, and another of Foot, which is very much diſliked, *ib.*

The *Royal Society* is founded, 260

The Commons confirm the Reſolution they had taken, of granting the King an *annual Revenue* of *Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds*, 253

Alexander Popham undertakes to have a *perpetual Revenue* of above *two Millions* ſettled on the King, 254

The Lord-Chancellor *Hyde* oppoſes that Project, *ib.*

The Bodies of *Oliver Cromwell*, *Henry Ireton*, *John Bradſhaw*, and *Thomas Pride*, are dug up out of their Graves, drawn upon a Hurdle to *Tybourn*, and hung there almoſt a whole Day, and then buried under the Gallows by order of the Parliament, 255

An Act of *Attainder* is paſſed againſt theſe deceaſed Perſons, and againſt thoſe of the *King's Judges* who had fled, *ibid.*

The Commons bring an Impeachment of High-Treaſon againſt *William Drake*, Author of a Book intitled *The Long-Parliament*, *ibid.*

A pretended Plot is ſaid to be formed by ſeveral of the Officers of the Army, *ibid.*

Dec. 24. *Mary* Princeſs of *Orange* dies of the Small-Pox, 260

William Seymour, who was reſtored to the Title of Duke of *Somerſet*, dies, *ibid.*

Dr. *H. Hammond* dies a little before the Reſtoration. *ibid.*

The King orders the *Engliſh Judges* who governed *Scotland*, to diſcontinue their Functions the 22d of *Auguſt*, 261

He conveens the *Committee of the Eſtates* of *Scotland*, *ibid.*

The Earl of *Glencairn* is made Chancellor of that Kingdom; the Earl of *Crawford* is reſtored to the Treaſury; the Earl of *Caſſils* is made Juſtice-General; the Earl of *Lautherdale* firſt Secretary of State;

CHAR. II. 1660. State, and General *Middleton* the King's Commiſſioner, 261

Some *Scotch* Miniſters are impriſoned for drawing up a Petition concerning their *Grievances*, *ibid.*

A Proclamation is publiſhed by the *Committee* of *Eſtates*, forbidding all Sorts of unlawful Aſſemblies, and ſeditious Writings, 262

Archibald Campbel Marqueſs of *Argyle* is arreſted in *London*, and ſent to *Scotland*, to be there tryed on an Impeachment of High-Treaſon, *ibid.*

The King calls a Parliament in *Scotland*, to meet the 12th of *December*, *ibid.*

He publiſhes a Proclamation, in which he declares, that he left it entirely to this Parliament to examine into the Conduct of his Subjects of *Scotland*, and that he would grant them a *Pardon*.

The King commits the Government of *Ireland* to Sir *Maurice Euſtace* Chancellor, and to---*Boyle* Earl of *Orrery*, and ---*Coote* Earl of *Montraith*, in Quality of Lords Juſtices, 263

Dec. 29. He comes to the Parliament, and gives his Aſſent to Twelve Acts, 255

King *Charles* makes a Speech to the Parliament, in which he returns *Thanks* to both Houſes, expreſſes his Affection towards them, and aſſures them that he will inviolably obſerve the Act of *Indemnity*, 256---258

The Lord-Chancellor *Hyde* makes after That a Speech to both Houſes, 258

The firſt Parliament of King *Charles* II is diſſolved.

1661. *Jan.* 6. Some *Anabaptiſts* headed by *Thomas Venner* cauſe an Inſurrection in *London*, 263

They are taken and executed, 264

The King takes from thence occaſion to iſſue out a Proclamation, forbidding all ſorts of *Meetings* and *Conventicles*, and ordering the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* to be tendered to all ſuſpected Perſons, *ibid.*

The Name of *Diſſenters*, or *Nonconformiſts* is applied to all the *Sectaries* in general, 264, 265

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CHAR. II. 1660. The Parliament of *Scotland* abrogates the *Solemn League and Covenant*, Page 278
They declare the Power of the *Militia* to be in the King alone, 279
The Act of the 16th of *January* 1647, by which the late King was delivered into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, is by them declared infamous, diſloyal, and contrary to all Laws Divine and Humane, *ib.*
Epiſcopacy is reſtored in *Scotland*, *ibid.*
The Parliament of that Kingdom reſtores the *Right* of *Patronage*, and makes ſeveral Acts in favour of the King, and againſt the *Presbyterians*. *ibid.*
Feb. 13. *Elizabeth* Queen of *Bohemia* dies at *London*, 287
1661. *Mar.* 25. A Conference is held at the *Savoy* between ſome Biſhops and *Presbyterian-Miniſters*, in order to an Examination of the Differences between the two Parties, 266---271
Apr. 20. The Conference is broken off, 271
Sir *Edward Hyde* is created Earl of *Clarendon*,
23. King *Charles* II is crowned, 271
May 8. The *Second* Parliament of King *Charles* II meets, *ib.*
It is called the *Penſionary Parliament*, becauſe many of the Members received Penſions from the Court, *ibid.*
The King makes a Speech to the Parliament, in which he acquaints them with his intended *Marriage* with *Catharine* of *Portugal*, 274
Sir *Edward Turner* is choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, 275
The Houſe of Commons order all their Members to receive the *Communion*, according to the Form preſcribed in the *Liturgy*, *ibid.*
20. The Parliament cauſes the Writing called *The Solemn League and Covenant*, and ſeveral other Acts againſt the late King to be burnt, *ibid.*
28. *Archibald Campbel* Marqueſs of *Argyle*, is beheaded at *Edinburgh*, 279
July 10. An *Act* is paſſed for confirming the *Act of Indemnity*, 276

CHAR. II. 1661. And another *Act* to impower the King to receive from his Subjects a free and voluntary Contribution for his preſent Occaſions, Page 276

Another *Act* is paſſed for *confiſcating* the Eſtates of *Twenty-one Regicides* deceaſed, and to puniſh *Three*, who were ſpared as to Life, *viz.* The Lord *Monſon*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, and *Robert Wallop*, *ibid.*

They are drawn upon Sledges, with Ropes about their Necks to *Tybourn*, and committed to perpetual Impriſonment, 276

30. The King gives his Aſſent to Nine *Acts*, and, among the reſt, to an Act for the Safety and Preſervation of his Perſon and Government, and to another, for bringing the *Biſhops* again into the Houſe of Peers, 277

The Parliament is adjourned to the 20th of *November*, 278

The *Convocation* of the Clergy meets, and grants a *Benevolence* to the King, *ibid.*

The *Cavaliers*, or *Royaliſts*, complain highly of the King's Ingratitude, 280

Rumours are ſpread of *Plots* and *Conſpiracies* carrying on againſt the King, in order to render the *Presbyterians* odious, *ibid.*

Edward Montague Earl of *Sandwich* returns from his Expedition againſt *Algiers*, without having done any thing, 281

Nov. 10. The Parliament meets again, *ibid.*

The King makes a Speech to both Houſes, *ibid.*

The Court begins to perſecute the *Presbyterians*, 283

The Parliament deſires the King to order all Officers and disbanded Soldiers to depart Twenty Miles from *London*, 284

The Commons grant the King *Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds* for his preſent Occaſions, *ibid.*

The Bill for the Execution of Nineteen *Regicides*, who had voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves, is dropped, *ibid.*

Edward Hyde Earl of *Clarendon*, and Lord-Chancellor, ſupports the Rumour of the Plot, 285

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CHAR. II. 1661. Dec. 20. The King gives his Aſſent to the *Act* which granted him *Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds*; and to an Act for regulating *Corporations*, Page 285, 286
An *Oath* is injoined by the *Corporation*-Act, 286
The Parliament is adjourned to the 10th of *January*, 287

1661. Jan. 10. The Parliament meets again, *ibid.*
The Lord-Chancellor *Hyde* makes a Report to the Houſe of Lords of the *Conſpiracy*, *ibid.*
Mar. 1. The King makes a Speech to the Commons, 289
1662. An Act is paſſed againſt the *Quakers*, 291
May 19. The King gives his Aſſent to ſeveral *Acts*, viz. *ib.*
To the Act of *Uniformity*, *ibid.*
To an Act for better regulating *the ſtanding Forces* of the Nation, *ibid.*
To an Act for laying a perpetual and annual *Tax* of *two* Shillings on every *Chimney-Hearth*, *ibid.*
The Parliament is prorogued.
21. Queen *Catharine* arrives at *Portſmouth*, 296
Her Marriage with the King is ſolemnized, according to ſome by *Gilbert Sheldon* Biſhop of *London*, and according to others, by a *Catholick* Prieſt, *ib.*
Henrietta, the Queen-Mother comes to *England*, 297
From *July* to *Octob.* King *Charles* enters into Negotiations with Count *d'Eſtrades*, for the Sale of *Dunkirk*, 298---304
The King ſells *Dunkirk* to *Lewis* XIV for *Five Millions* of *Livres*, 299
Several *Pamphlets* are publiſhed about that Matter, 300
Edward Hyde Earl of *Clarendon*, had a great Hand in that Buſineſs, 300---304
Miles Corbet, *John Okey*, and *John Barkſtead*, three Regicides, are brought to *England*, and executed, 304
Sir *Henry Vane* and Lieutenant-General *J. Lambert* are condemned, *ibid.*
John Lambert is pardoned, but confined to Priſon, 305
Sir *Henry Vane* is executed, *ibid.*

Above

CHAR. II. 1662. Above Two Thousand *Presbyterian Ministers* chuse to quit their Preferments, rather than submit to the *Uniformity* Act, Page 306

The *Corporation*-Act is put in execution with great Rigour, 310

The Walls of *Glouceſter*, *Coventry*, *Northampton*, *Leiceſter*, and *Taunton*, are razed to the Ground, becauſe thoſe Places had diſtinguiſhed themſelves for the Parliament during the War, *ibid.*

A Conſpiracy contrived by ſome *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, is diſcovered, 310

Six of the Conſpirators are executed, 311

Vice-Admiral Sir *John Lawſon* forces the *Algerines* to make Peace with *England*.

The King declares *Tangier* a free Port, and inveſts it with great Priviledges, *ibid.*

1662/3 Jan. He puts out a Proclamation, in which he diſpenſes with the *Presbyterians*, as to their Obſervance of ſome Articles in the *Act of Uniformity*, 312

The Lord-Chancellor *Hyde* begins to ſink in his Credit, *ibid.*

Sir *Henry Bennet*, afterwards Earl of *Arlington*, is made *Secretary of State*, in the Room of Sir *Edward Nicholas*, whom the King obliges to reſign, *ibid.*

Feb. 18. The Parliament meets again, 313

The King makes a Speech to both Houſes, to recommend his Declaration about the *Act of Uniformity*, and in behalf of the *Catholicks*.

The Houſe of Commons is alarmed at it, 314

They preſent an Addreſs to the King againſt that Proclamation, 315---318

The King returns an Anſwer to them, 318

Both Houſes petition him to order all *Jeſuits* and *Romiſh* Prieſts to depart the Kingdom, *ibid.*

The King promiſes to do as they deſired, 319

He is as good as his Word by publiſhing a Proclation againſt them, but it is not obſerved, *ibid.*

The Commons grant the King *Four entire Subſidies*, 320

The Convocation of the Clergy does the ſame.

George

Char. II. *George Digby* Earl of *Briſtol*, brings an Impeachment
1662-3. of High-Treaſon againſt *Edward Hyde* Earl of *Clarendon*, Page 321--324
The Houſe of Lords unanimouſly rejects it, 324
1663. The Parliament ſettles the Revenues of the *Poſt-Office*, and of the *Wine-Licenſes* upon *James* Duke of *York*, *ibid.*
July 27. The King prorogues the Parliament, 324
The King and Queen make a Progreſs into the *Weſt*, *ibid.*
A Plot contrived by the *Republicans* and *Independents*, is diſcovered, 325
William Juxon Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* dies; and is ſucceeded by *Gilbert Sheldon* Biſhop of *London*, *ib.*
1661. *Mar.* 16. The Parliament meets again, *ibid.*
The Act for *Triennial Parliaments* is repealed at the King's Requeſt, 326
The Parliament votes that the Injuries and Inſults of the *Dutch* were the greateſt Obſtacles to the Trade of *England*; and agree upon a Remonſtrance to be preſented to the King for Redreſs of them, 328
The King returns an Anſwer conformable to the Parliament's Deſires.
He had already taken the Reſolution of going to War with the *Dutch*, and the Parliament's Complaints ſerved only as a Pretence for it, 330, 331
1664. *May* 17. An Act againſt *Conventicles* is paſſed, 332, 333
The Parliament is prorogued, 333
The King demands of the *Dutch* Reparation of the Injuries done by them to the *Engliſh*, *ibid.*
The *States* ſend *Monſieur Van Goch* Embaſſadour to *England* to offer Satisfaction, 334
The City of *London* lends the King an Hundred Thouſand Pounds, for fitting out the Fleet, 335
Novem. *James* Duke of *York* falls upon the *Dutch Bourdeaux* Fleet, and takes *One Hundred and Thirty* Sail of them, laden with Wine and Brandy, before the War was declared, *ibid.*

CHAR. II. 1664. The *States* accept of the Mediation of *Lewis* XIV, King of *France*, but King *Charles* rejects it, Page 336
King *Charles* endeavours in vain to bring the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* to a War with the *Dutch*, *ib.*
Nov. 24. The Parliament meets again, 338
The King makes a Speech to them, in which he demands a *Supply of Money*, *ibid.*
The Parliament ſends Deputies to return Thanks to the City of *London* for their *Loan* to the King, 339
The Commons vote the King a Supply of *Two Millions Five Hundred Thouſand* Pounds for the War, *ibid.*
Both Houſes adjourn themſelves to the 12th of *January*, *ibid.*
The King publiſhes a Declaration for making *Repriſals* upon all *Ships* belonging to the *Dutch*, 339
$166\frac{4}{5}$. The *Engliſh* take a great many *Dutch* Veſſels, *ibid.*
Admiral *Ruyter* retakes from the *Engliſh* moſt of the *Forts* that had been taken from the *Dutch* at *Guinea* and *Cape Verd*; and ſeizes ſeveral *Engliſh* Ships, 340
Jan. 12. The Parliament meets again, *ibid.*
The *Money-Bill* is paſſed, *ibid.*
King *Charles* proclaims War againſt the *States-General*, 340
Mar. 2. The Parliament is prorogued.
The *Clergy* voluntarily give up their Right of *Taxing* themſelves in Convocation. From this Time they voted at the Election of Parliament-Men, 341
James Duke of *York* repairs to the Fleet which he was to command, conſiſting of *one Hundred and Seven* Men of War, and Fourteen *Fire-Ships*, *ibid.*
King *Charles* endeavours to gain *Lewis* XIV to his Side, 341
The *Dutch* preſs him to declare againſt *England*, *ib.*
Lewis XIV ſends the Duke *de Verneuil* Embaſſadour to *Charles* II, to try to procure a Peace between *England* and *Holland*, 342

James

CHAR. II.

1665. May. *James* Duke of *York* puts to Sea with the *English* Fleet, Page 344

He takes ſeveral *Dutch* Ships, and then returns to *England*, *ibid.*

The Plague begins to rage in *London*, 351

The *Dutch* fit out a Fleet under the Command of Mr. *Obdam de Waſſenaer*, 345

June 13. He is beaten by the *Engliſh* Fleet, and his Ship is blown up. The Duke of *York* doth not purſue the *Dutch* Fleet as eagerly as he might have done, 346---348

The King appoints a *Day of Thankſgiving* for this Victory, and orders *Medals* to be ſtruck in Honour of the Duke of *York*, 348

Henrietta the Queen-Mother returns into *France*, 349

The Command of the *Engliſh* Fleet is given to *Edward Montague* Earl of *Sandwich*, *ibid.*

Mr. *de Ruyter* is made Lieutenant-Admiral-General of *Holland*, 349

The *Dutch Smyrna*-Fleet, and ſeveral of their *Eaſt-India* Ships retire to *Berghen* in *Norway*, *ibid.*

The Kings of *Denmark* and *England* attempt to ſeize thoſe Ships, 350

They miſs their Aim, *ibid.*

Aug. 13. The Command of the Fleet is taken from *Edward Montague* Earl of *Sandwich*, and he is ſent Embaſſadour to *Spain*, 351

Mr. *de Ruyter* convoys the *Dutch* Ships ſafe from *Berghen*; but his Fleet is diſperſed by a Storm, *ibid.*

The *Plague* commits terrible Ravages in *London*; ſo that in leſs than a Year there died of it in that City above *a Hundred Thouſand Perſons*, *ibid.*

Bernard Van Galen Biſhop of *Munſter*, declares War againſt the *Dutch*, 352

He becomes Maſter of ſeveral ſmall Places, and attempts to ſurprize *Groningen*.

He finds himſelf obliged to quit his Projects, and think of a Peace, 352

CHAR. II. 1665 Oct. 7. The Parliament meets at *Oxford*, on account of the Plague, Page 352

The Commons grant the King *Twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds* for the War, 353

They make a Preſent of *One Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Pounds* to the Duke of *York*, ibid.

31. The *Five-Mile-Act* againſt *Nonconformiſt* Teachers is paſſed, 353

The Parliament is prorogued to the 20th of *February* 1665-6, 354

Dec. 24. A very ſevere Proclamation is iſſued out in *Scotland* againſt *Nonconformiſt-Miniſters*, 355

1665. Jan. 19. *Lewis* XIV, King of *France*, declares War againſt *England*, 356

Queen *Catharine* miſcarries. 357

Feb. King *Charles* II proclaims War againſt *France*, ibid.

1666. Apr. 18. *Frederick* III, King of *Denmark* joins with the *States*, 356

Bernard Van Galen, Biſhop of *Munſter*, makes a Peace with them, ibid.

The King of *France* is very ſlow in ſuccouring the *States*, ibid.

The Command of the *Engliſh* Fleet is given to Prince *Rupert*, and *George Monk* Duke of *Albemarle*, 357

May. They put to Sea, ibid.

King *Charles* gives Prince *Rupert* Orders to go, with part of the Fleet, in queſt of the Duke *de Beaufort*, and to fight the *French* Fleet, ibid.

The Duke of *Albemarle* comes to an Engagement with Admiral *de Ruyter*; The Fight laſts four Days, and the *Engliſh* are worſted, 358, 359

The two Fleets fight another Battle, in which the *Dutch*, through the ill Management of *Cornelius Van Trump*, are defeated, 359

Admiral *de Ruyter* makes a brave Retreat, 360

Cornelius Van Trump is turned out of his Poſt, ibid.

Sept. 2. A dreadful *Fire* happens in *London*, which conſumes *Thirteen Thouſand Two Hundred* Dwelling Houſes. The *Papiſts* are ſuſpected of being the Authors of it, 362---365

CHAR. II. 1666. The Duke *de Beaufort* arrives at *Rochel* with the *French* Fleet, Page 360
The *English* burn several *Dutch* Ships near the Isle of *Vly*, and making a Descent in the Isle of *Schelling*, commit there great Ravages, 361
One *Buat*, a *Frenchman*, is beheaded at the *Hague*, for holding a secret Correspondence with the *English*, *ibid.*
The *English* Fleet returns, and anchors at St. *Hellens* near the Isle of *Wight*, 361
The *Dutch* Fleet is recalled from St. *John*'s Bay near *Boulogne*, on account of Admiral *de Ruyter*'s Illness, *ibid.*
The *French* Fleet passes and repasses before the Isle of *Wight*, without being attacked by the *English*, and retires into the Ports of *Bretagne*, *ibid.*
Sept. 21. The Parliament meets again, 365
The Commons grant the King a Supply of *Eighteen Hundred Thousand Pounds*, 366
The Parliament presents an Address to the King against the *Papists*, *ibid.*
A Proclamation is thereupon issued out for banishing the *Priests* and *Jesuits* out of the Kingdom, *ibid.*
An *Insurrection* breaks out in *Scotland*, 367
The *Rebels* are beaten and dispersed, *ibid.*
Decemb. The King presses the Commons to dispatch the *Money*-Bill.
Complaints are brought before the House of Commons against Lord *John* Viscount *Mordaunt* Governour of *Windsor*-Castle, 367
1667. *Jan.* 2. The Parliament meets again, 368
13. The *States* of the *United Provinces* send a Letter to King *Charles*, in which they offer to send Plenipotentiaries to *London*, to negotiate a Peace, 369, 370
The Commons accuse the Lord Viscount *Mordaunt*, 368
18. The *Poll-Bill*, or *Capitation*-Act is passed, *ibid.*

CHAR. II.

1667. Jan. 20. King *Charles* returns an answer to the Letter from the *States*, and names the *Hague* for the Place of Conference, Page 370

Feb. 18. The Parliament is prorogued to the 10th of *October*, after having passed an Act for continuing for eleven Months the *Monthly Tax of Seventy Thousand Pounds*, and several other Acts about *rebuilding the City of* London, 368

Mar. 18. King *Charles* pitches upon *Breda* for the Place of Conference, 371

1667. May 20. The Plenipotentiaries of *England* arrive at *Breda*, *ib.*

The Conferences there are prolonged by a Misunderstanding, 372

King *Charles* demands, that the *Dutch* should restore the Island of *Poleron* in the *East-Indies*, and make Reparation for *Two Ships* taken before the Treaty in 1662, *ib.* & 373

He receeds from his Demand of *Poleron*, and insists only upon the *Two Ships*, 373

June 8. Admiral *de Ruyter* comes to the Mouth of the *Thames*, 375

10. Vice-Admiral *Van Ghent* being sent by *de Ruyter* with Seventeen Ships, becomes Master of *Sheerness* Fort, and sailing up towards *Chatham*, burns several Ships.

This causes a great Consternation in *London*, and throws the King into great Perplexity, 375, 376

Lewis XIV, King of *France*, invades the *Netherlands*, 380

July. Admiral *de Ruyter* setting Sail again, takes some Ships in *Torbay*, beats the *English* before *Harwich*, and gives Chace to a Squadron commanded by Sir *Edward Spragg*, 376

The *English* Plenipotentiaries at *Breda* drop their Demands of Reparation for the *Two Ships*, *ibid.*

21. The Peace between *England*, *France*, and *Holland* is signed, 376---379

Thomas Wriothesley Earl of *Southampton* dies, 384

The

CHAR. II.

1667. Aug. 24. The Peace is proclaimed at *London* and at the *Hague*, Page 379

The People complains, and murmurs againſt the Court, 380

The Lord-Chancellor *Hyde* is diſgraced, 382

Sir *Orlando Bridgman* is made Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal, 384

Sept. The King publiſhes a Proclamation againſt thoſe who went to hear *Maſs* at the Chapel of *Embaſſadours*, 396

Oct. 10. The Parliament meets again, 385

Both Houſes preſent an Addreſs to the King, *ibid.*

King *Charles* lays the firſt Stone of the Foundation of the *Royal Exchange*, 396

Nov. 12. The Commons impeach *Edward Hyde* Earl of *Clarendon* of High-Treaſon, 386---389

He withdraws into *France*, 389

Dec. 2. He leaves an *Apology* behind him, addreſſed to the *Lords*, which is by them communicated to the *Commons*, 389---392

It is burnt by the Common-Hangman, 392

13. The Lords ſend to the Commons a Bill for the *Baniſhment* of the Earl of *Clarendon*, *ibid.*

18. The Bill paſſes, and the King gives his Aſſent to it, 395

The Parliament is prorogued, *ibid.*

Matthew Wren Biſhop of *Ely*, and the celebrated Poet *Abraham Cowley* die in this Year 1667, 396

1667. *Jan.* 1. King *Charles* takes a Reſolution to enter into a ſtrict Union with the *States* of the *United Provinces*, in order to prevent the King of *France* his becoming Maſter of the *Low-Countries*, 397

A *Tripple-Alliance* is concluded between *England*, *Holland*, and *Sweden*, 397---400

Feb. 10. The Parliament meets again, 400

The King makes a Speech to them, in which he demands *Money*, *ibid.*

The Commons take into Examination the Miſmanagements in the late War, 401

CHAR. II. 1667. *Lewis* XIV makes himſelf Maſter of *Franche-Comté*, in leſs than a Fortnight, Page 403

1668. Apr 24. The King preſſes the Commons to go upon the *Money-Bill*, 401

The Commons preſent an Addreſs to the King, to deſire him to put the Laws in Execution againſt the *Conventicles* of *Papiſts* and *Nonconformiſts*, 402

A Proclamation is iſſued out upon that Subject, *ib.*

A Diſpute ariſes between the two Houſes of Parliament, about the Affair of *Thomas Skinner*, 403

May 2. The Peace is concluded at *Aix-la Chapelle* between *France* and *Spain*, 404

5. The King paſſes the *Money-Bill*, and adjourns the Parliament to the 11th of *Auguſt*: He adjourns it a ſecond Time, and at laſt prorogues it till the 19th of *October* 1669, 403

The Papiſts have great Intereſt at Court, 407

A Project is formed to render the King *abſolute*, 408

This Summer the King makes ſeveral *Progreſſes* into the Kingdom, to view the *Ports* and *Navy*, *ibid.*

He ſends a Squadron into the *Mediterranean*, which forces the *Algerines* to a Peace, *ibid.*

Sir *William Godolphin* is ſent Embaſſadour to *Spain*, 409

Ralph Montague Eſq; is firſt Envoy, and then Embaſſadour to *France*, *ibid.*

Charles Howard Earl of *Carliſle* goes Embaſſadour to *Stockholm*, *ibid.*

Sir *William Temple* is ſent Embaſſadour extraordinary to the *States-General*, *ibid.*

Monſieur Colbert comes to reſide at the *Engliſh* Court, as Embaſſadour from *France*, *ibid.*

In this Year 1669 *Algernoon Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland* dies; as does alſo the two famous Poets Sir *William Davenant* and Sir *John Denham*; and Sir *William Waller*, 409

1669. Jan. King *Charles* is bribed by the Court of *France*, and ſides with her, 409, 410

13. *George Monk* Duke of *Albemarle* dies; and is ſucceeded by his Son *Chriſtopher*, 416

Coſmo

CHAR. II.

1661-2 March. Cosmo di Medicis, Prince of Tuscany, arrives in England, Page 410

1669. Prince George of Denmark comes to pay King Charles a Visit, ibid.

July 9. The Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford is opened, ibid.

The King forms the Project of a Comprehension, or the Incorporating the Presbyterians with the Church of England, and of procuring a Toleration for all the Sects of Nonconformists, 410---413

Conferences are held upon this Point between two Episcopal Divines (Dr. Wilkins and Dr. Burton) and two Presbyterian Ministers (Dr. Manton, and Richard Baxter.) The two former made large Concessions, 411, 412

Gilbert Sheldon Archbishop of Canterbury opposes this Project of a Comprehension, 412

The Nonconformists present a Petition to the King, which is favourably received, 413

Aug. 20. Henrietta the Queen-Mother dies in France, 416

Oct. 19. The Parliament meets again.

The King demands of them Money for the Discharge of his Debts; and proposes the Union of the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland, 413

The Commons examine the publick Accounts, ibid.

Sir George Carteret is expelled the House, for keeping the Books in a confused and disorderly Manner, ibid.

Octob. The Parliament of Scotland meets, 414

The House of Commons in England appoints a Committee to inquire into the Behaviour of the Nonconformists, 413

They grant the King a Supply of Four Hundred Thousand Pounds, 414

The Parliament of Scotland raises the King's Supremacy higher than it had ever been carried before, 416

They approve by an Act the raising of the Militia, ibid.

The

CHAR. II. 1669. The Differences between the two Houſes of Parliament in *England*, about the Buſineſs of *Skinner* are renewed, Page 414

Dec. 11. The Parliament is prorogued till the 14th of *February* 1670, *ibid.*

William Prynne Eſq; dies in this Year 1699, 416

1669/70. *Feb.* 14. The Parliament meets again, *ibid.*

The King makes a Speech to them, in which he demands a Suply of Money, *ib.* & 417

The Commons vote him a Supply of about *Seventeen Hundred Thouſand* Pounds, 419, 420

The King reconciles the two Houſes, 420

March 11. They jointly preſent an Addreſs to him againſt *Nonconformiſts* and *Papiſts*, *ibid.*

1670. *Apr.* 11. The King gives his Aſſent to ſeveral Acts, particularly to one for *ſuppreſſing Conventicles*, *ibid.*

11. He adjourns the Parliament to the 24th of *October*, 421

King *Charles* forms the Deſign of rendering himſelf *abſolute*, 421---423

He eſtabliſhes a *Secret Council*, which is nick-named the *Cabal*, 423---429

This *Council* reſolves upon a War with *Holland*, that they might have a Pretence for keeping on foot both *Land* and *Sea*-Forces, 429

King *Charles* makes a ſecret Alliance with *France*, 430, 431

Lewis XIV comes to *Dunkirk*, 431

May 28. *Henrietta* Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, comes to *England* to viſit the King her Brother, *ibid.*

She confirms the *Alliance* between the Kings of *France* and *England*, *ibid.*

June 29. She dies, after having drunk a Glaſs of *Succory-Water*, 431, 432

King *Charles* concludes a private Treaty with *France*, 432

Septemb. The Marſhal *de Crequi* invades *Lorrain*, and becomes Maſter of it, *ibid.*

King

CHAR. II. 1670. King *Charles* refuses to interceed with *Lewis* XIV, to restore the Duke of *Lorrain* to his Dominions, Page 432, 433

Oct. 24. The Parliament meets again, 433

The Commons grant the King a large *Subsidy*, 435

Sir *William Temple* is recalled from his Embassy in *Holland*, *ibid.*

Decemb. *William* III, Prince of *Orange*, comes to pay a Visit to the King his Unkle, *ibid.*

The Parliament is adjourned, 435

Henry Jenkins dies in this Year 1670, being 169 Years old, 436

1671. *Jan.* } The Parliament meets again, *ibid.*

Feb. 14. The King sends a Message to both Houses to hasten the *Money*-Bills, *ibid.*

Both Houses present an Address to the King against *Popery*, and the Growth of it, 437---441

Charles Lord *Lucas* makes a Speech against the *Money-Bills*, 441---443

That Speech is ordered to be burnt by the Common Hangman, 443

Mar. 6. The King gives his Assent to the *Money-Bills*, 444

A Difference happens between the two Houses, *ib.*

The Parliament is prorogued to the 4th of *February* 1672-3.

1671. *Mar* 31. } *Ann Hyde* Dutchess of *York*, eldest Daughter of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, and Mother to *Mary*, and *Ann* afterwards Queens of *England* dies, 446

James Duke of *York* makes a formal *Abjuration* of the *Protestant Religion*, 446, 447

King *Charles* forms the Design of divorcing his Queen *Catharine* of *Portugal*, 447

One of the King's *Yachts* attempts to make the *Dutch* Fleet *strike the Flag*, 450

King *Charles* receives Money from the King of *France*, *ibid.*

May 28. *Charles* XI King of *Sweden*, the Elector of *Saxony*, and *Christopher Monk* Duke of *Albemarle*, are made Knights of the Garter, 450, 451

Blood

CHAR. II. 1671. *Blood* ſteals the *Crown*, the *Orb*, and the *Scepter* out of the Tower, Page 451---453
The King pardons him, and loads him with Favours, 453
Thomas Lord *Fairfax* the late General, and *Edward Montague* Earl of *Manchester*, die in this Year 1671, 454
1671. *France*, *England*, the Elector of *Cologne*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter* form a League againſt *Holland*, *ib.*
King *Charles* is in want of Money, 454
Sir *Thomas Clifford* ſuggeſts to him Means for ſupplying his Wants, by adviſing him to *ſhut up the Exchequer*, 455
The King follows that Advice, 456
Feb. 24. *William* III is made Captain-General, and Admiral by the *States* of the *United Provinces*, 465
March 13. King *Charles* orders the *Dutch Smyrna*-Fleet to be intercepted in their Return home, before the War was declared; but fails of Succeſs, 457
He ſends out a Squadron to meet Four *Dutch Eaſt-India* Ships, which are taken; and cauſes all the *Dutch* Ships in his Ports to be ſeized, 458
The *States* ſeize likewiſe all the *Engliſh* Ships in their Harbours, but releaſe them ſoon after, *ibid.*
King *Charles* diſmiſſes *ſome* of the *Dutch* Ships he had ordered to be ſeized, *ibid.*
15. He publiſhes a Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience*, 460
17. *England* declares War againſt the *United Provinces*, 461---463
1672. As doth alſo *Lewis* XIV, 464
April. And the Biſhop of *Munſter*, *ibid.*
The Elector of *Cologne* joins with *France*, 464
May. *Lewis* XIV takes the Field.
He makes himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Places upon the *Rhine*, ſwims over that River, takes all *Guelderland*, and the Towns upon the *Iſſel*; and alſo *Utretcht*, 465, 466

The

CHAR. II. 1672. The Biſhop of *Munſter* ravages the Province of *Over-iſſel*, and falls upon *Frieſland* and *Groninghen*, Page 466

June 6. An Engagement happens near *Solebay* in *Suffolk*, between Admiral *de Ruyter* and the Confederate Fleets of *England* and *France*, which come off with equal Succeſs, 466, 467

King *Charles* ſuſpends the Execution of two *Acts* of Parliament about *Navigation* and *Trade*, 468

Holland is in a moſt deplorable Condition, *ibid.*

William III, Prince of *Orange*, is made *Stadtholder*, 469

Aug. 20. The two Brothers *de Wits*, *Cornelius* and *John*, are torn to Pieces by the *Mob*, *ibid.*

Lewis XIV tries in vain to gain the Prince of *Orange* to his Side, by offering him the Sovereignty of *Holland*, 469

King *Charles* ſends *George Villiers* Duke of *Buckingham*, and *Henry Bennet* Earl of *Arlington*, Embaſſadours to *Holland*, *ib.* & 470

Aug. *Lewis* XIV marches his Army into *Flanders*, leaves the Duke of *Luxemburgh* at *Utrecht*, and comes himſelf to *Paris*, 470

Nov. 9. The Parliament is prorogued, 471

Dec. 4. The King declares in Council that he would raiſe more *Forces*, *ibid.*

He orders that the *Exchequer* ſhould continue ſhut till *May* 1, 1673, *ibid.*

His Demands for a Peace are rejected by the *United Provinces*, 472

Sir *John Trevor* Secretary of State dies; and is ſucceeded by Sir *Henry Coventry*, *ibid.*

Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* reſigns the *Great-Seal*, which is given to *Anthony Aſhley-Cowper* Earl of *Shaftsbury*, *ibid.*

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1673. Feb. 4. The Parliament meets again, Page 1

Sir *Job Charlton* is choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, in the room of Sir *Edward Turner*, made chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, *ibid.*

The

Chap. II. 1673. The King makes a Speech to the Parliament; which is followed by another remarkable one of the Lord-Chancellor *Cowper*'s, Page 2---9

The Houſe of Commons complains of *Writs* iſſued out by the Lord-Chancellor, for the electing of new Members in the room of ſuch as were dead or removed, 10

All the Members elected by virtue of thoſe Writs are expelled the Houſe.

Feb. 5. The Commons prepare a Bill in favour of the *Presbyterians*, 16

The Country-Party prevails in the Parliament above the Court-Party, 10, 11

The Commons vote to grant the King *Twelve Hundred and Sixty Thouſand* Pounds, 13

Feb. 29. } *Mar.* 3. } They preſent to him two Addreſſes againſt the *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience*, 13---15

The King evades their Demand, 15

Edward Seymour Eſq; is choſen *Speaker* of the Houſe of Commons; Sir *Job Charleton* being Ill, *ibid.*

An Addreſs is preſented by both Houſes to the King againſt the *Papiſts*, 17

The King having thereupon iſſued out a Proclamation againſt them, which was not very ſatisfactory; the Commons enter upon new Meaſures to get the *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience* revoked, 18

The King is in great Perplexity, *ibid.*

His Council is divided about the Courſe he ſhould take in the preſent Emergency, 18---20

18. The King recalls his *Declaration*, and ſo ſatisfies the Commons, who return him Thanks for it, 20, 21

The *Cabal* is very much out of Humour with the King, 21

Anthony Aſhley-Cooper Earl of *Shaftsbury* quits the King's Party, and embraces that of the People, 22---28

The *Teſt-Act* is brought into the Houſe of Commons; and a Bill to prevent *Intermarriages* between

CHAR. II. 1673. tween *Protestants* and *Papists*, in order to hinder the Duke of *York* from marrying a *Popish* Princess, Page 29

The Commons present two Addresses to the King concerning *Grievances*, one relating to *England*, the other to *Ireland*, 29---31

1673. The King promises to redress the *Grievances*, 31

March 29. He passes the *Money-Bill*, the *Test-Act*, and an *Act* for a *general Pardon*, *ibid.*

The Parliament is adjourned to the 20th of *October*, *ibid.*

James Duke of *York*, *Thomas* Lord *Clifford*, and the greatest Part of the *Catholick* Officers resign their Places, 32

Thomas Lord *Clifford* dies, *ibid.*

Prince *Rupert* is appointed Commander of the *English* Fleet, *ibid.*

May 2. Admiral *Ruyter* attempts to sink some *English* Ships in the *Thames*, but miscarries, *ibid.*

15. The *English* and *French* Fleets join one another, *ib.*

May. 28. } *June* 14. } *Aug.* 11. } Three Battles are fought between the *Dutch*, and *English* and *French* Fleets, with no considerable Advantage on either side, 33

June. *Lewis* XIV takes *Maestricht*, *ibid.*

A Congress is held at *Cologne* for a Peace, but comes to nothing, 34

19. Sir *Thomas Osborne* is made High-Treasurer, *ibid.*

Sept. *William* III, Prince of *Orange* takes *Naerden*, 33

Octob. And afterwards *Bonne*, *ibid.*

A Marriage is negotiated between *James* Duke of *York* and *Maria d'Este* Princess of *Modena*, 34

The Parliament meets again.

20. The Commons present an Address to the King against the Duke of *York*'s Marriage.

The King prorogues the Parliament, 35

27. The Parliament meets again, *ibid.*

The Commons adjourn themselves to the 30th, 36

30. They order a Bill to be brought in for a *General Test*, 37

The

CHAR. II. 1673. Nov. 10. The Commons come to a Reſolution to grant no more *Supplies of Money* to the King, Page 37

They preſent to him an Addreſs for a General *Faſt*, *ibid.*

12. And a ſecond Addreſs againſt the Duke of *York*'s Marriage, *ibid.*

They vote, That the *ſtanding* Army is a Grievance and a Burden to the Nation, 39

14. They vote alſo, 1. Againſt King *Charles*'s Alliance with *France*. 2. Againſt his evil Counſellors. And 3. Againſt *John Maitland* Duke of *Lauderdale*, *ib.*

The King prorogues the Parliament to the 7th Day of *January*, 1674, *ibid.*

He takes the Great-Seal from *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper* Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and gives it to Sir *Heneage Fineh*, *ibid.*

A Proclamation is iſſued out againſt the *Papiſts*, *ibid.*

21. *James* Duke of *York* conſummates his Marriage with *Maria d'Eſte*, 40

Lewis XIV abandons all his Conqueſts in the *United Provinces*, except *Maeſtricht* and *Grave*, 33

1673/4. Jan. 7. The Parliament meets again, 40

They form the Deſign of reſtoring the *Government* to its *natural State*, 41, 42

The Houſe of Lords preſents an *Addreſs* to the King to deſire him to order all *Papiſts* to remove out of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, during the Seſſion of the Parliament.

14. A Proclamation is iſſued out accordingly, *ibid.*

15. Both Houſes join in an Addreſs to the King for a *General Faſt*, *ibid.*

The Commons vote, That they would in the firſt Place proceed to have their Grievances redreſſed, the *Proteſtant Religion*, their *Liberties* and *Properties* effectually ſecured, and all Perſons and Counſellors *Popiſhly* affected, removed from the King's Perſon, 44

They

CHAR. II. 1671. They addreſs the King to deſire That the *Militia* of *London* and *Middleſex* might be ready at an Hour's warning, and That of all the other Counties of *England* at a Day's warning, Page 44

The King returns a general Anſwer to their Addreſs, *ibid.*

They vote againſt *John Maitland* Duke of *Lauderdale*, *ibid.*

The Commons examine *George Villiers* Duke of *Buckingham*, and paſs a Vote againſt him, 44---46

Henry Bennet Earl of *Arlington* is impeached by them, 46

They prepare a Bill for a *General Teſt*, 47

The *States* make Propoſals to King *Charles* for a ſeparate Peace, 48

They grant full Powers to the Marqueſs *del Freſno*, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour at *London*, to conclude a Peace in their Name, 49

Jan. 24. The King conſults the Parliament, who adviſe him to make Peace, *ibid.*

The Commons continue to examine the *Grievances*, *ib.*

Feb. 11. The King acquaints the Parliament with the Concluſion of the *Peace*, and deſires a *Supply of Money*, 50

The Commons go on notwithſtanding, examining the *Grievances*, 50, 51

They bring in a Bill for the maintaining the Priviledge of the *Habeas Corpus*, 51

24. The Parliament is prorogued.

28. The Peace between *England* and *Holland* is proclaimed, *ibid.*

King *Charles* offers his *Mediation* to *France*, and the *United Provinces*, which accept of it, and prevail upon their *Allies* to do the ſame, 53, 54

King *Charles* receives from *France* an *annual Penſion* of *One Hundred Thouſand* Pounds *Sterl.* 54

1674. The *Papiſts* importune King *Charles* to diſſolve the Parliament, 55

The King refuſes to do it, *ibid.*

CHAR. II.

1674. Sept. *Henry Bennet* Earl of *Arlington*, is made Lord Chamberlain, and Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* Secretary of State, Page 55

George Villiers Duke of *Buckingham*, loſes all his Credit, *ibid.*

The celebrated Poet *John Milton* dies in this Year 1674, 56

As doth alſo *Edward Hyde* Earl of *Clarendon* at *Roan*, 55

1674. January The King of *France*, and the other contending Powers, agree to treat about a Peace at *Nimeguen*, 73

Sir *Thomas Osborne*, the Lord-Treaſurer, is made Earl of *Danby*, 56

Henry Bennet Earl of *Arlington*, takes a Journey to the *Hague*, to try to engage *William* III, Prince of *Orange*, into the Meaſures of the Court of *England*; but without Succeſs, 56, 57

He loſes all his Credit, 57

1675. Apr. 13 The Parliament meets again, 58

The Commons prepare a Bill againſt *Popiſh Prieſts*, 59

They preſent an Addreſs to the King, to deſire him to remove *John Maitland* Duke of *Lauderdale*: The King refuſes to do it, 60

They examine the whole Conduct of *Thomas Osborne* Earl of *Danby*, 60, 61

The King is deſired by the Commons to call home his *Forces* out of *France*, and prevent his Subjects engaging in that Service for the future, 61

He rejects the firſt Part of the Petition, and grants the latter, *ibid.*

The Houſe of Lords being afraid that the Commons were going too far, and intended to alter the Government, bring in a Bill intitled, *An Act to prevent the Dangers which may ariſe from Perſons diſaffected to the Government*, 61---63

Great Debates are occaſioned by it in the *Upper-Houſe*, 63

CHAR. II. That Bill passes at last, Page 65
1675. May. The Prince of *Newbourg* comes to *England*, 72
The Commons vote to grant the King *Three Hundred Thousand* Pounds *Sterling*, and to apply the Tax of *Tunnage* and *Poundage* to the Maintenance of the *Navy*, 66
A Quarrel happens between the two Houses, occasioned by Dr. *Shirley*'s appealing to the House of Lords against Sir *John Fagg*, 66, 71
June 9. The King prorogues the Parliament to the 10th of *October*, 66
The Dutchess of *Mazarine* withdraws into *England*, and hath *four thousand* Pounds a Year allowed her by King *Charles*, 72
The Marshal *de Turenne* is killed by a *Cannon-Ball*, 67
Treves is retaken by the Allies.
Oct. 13. The Parliament meets again: The King makes a Speech to them, in which he demands *Money*, 68
The Commons resume the Consideration of the Bills left unfinished the last Session, *ibid.*
They examine the publick Accounts, *ibid.*
And vote to grant the King *Three Hundred Thousand* Pounds for building *twenty* Ships, and to appropriate *Tunnage* and *Poundage* to the Maintenance of the *Fleet*, 69
The *Commons* order a Bill to be prepared about the *Commerce* between *England* and *France*, *ibid.*
They come to a Resolution of obliging all their Members to take an *Oath*, that they had not received any thing from the Court since the 1st of *January* 1672, *ibid.*
Complaints are laid before the House concerning the Attempt of Father St. *Germain* upon Mr. *de Luzancy*. A Proclamation is thereupon issued out against St. *Germain*, 70, 71
George Villiers Duke of *Buckingham*, brings in a Bill into the House of Lords for the Ease [or Toleration] of *Protestant Dissenters*, 71
The Quarrel between the two Houses about *Shirley* and *Fagg* is revived, *ibid.*

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1675. Nov. 22. The King prorogues the Parliament to the 15th of *February* 1677, Page 72

Dec. 19. *Heneage* Lord *Finch* having been hitherto only *Lord-Keeper*, is now made Lord *High-Chancellour*, 72

John Lightfoot D. D. *Thomas Willis* M. D. and *Bulſtrode Whitlock* Eſq; dye in this Year 1675, *ibid.*

1675. King *Charles* publiſhes a Proclamation for ſuppreſſing *Coffee-Houſes*, 73

And a Proclamation againſt *Libels*, *ibid.*

1676. May. *Lewis* XIV King of *France*, takes *Condé* and *Bouchain*, 74

June. He returns to *Paris*, leaving his Army under the Command of *Frederick* Count *de Schomberg*, *ibid.*

July. *William* III, Prince of *Orange* lays Siege to *Maeſtricht*, *ibid.*

Count de Schomberg takes *Aire*; and marches to the Relief of *Maeſtritcht*, of which he obliges the Prince of *Orange* to raiſe the Siege, *ibid.*

King *Charles* endeavours to prevail upon the *States* of *Holland* to make a ſeparate Peace with *France*; without taking Notice of their Allies, *ibid.*

William III, Prince of *Orange* oppoſes that Project, *ibid.*

The *French* Privateers ſeize Abundance of *Engliſh* Ships, which renders the People of *England* very eager for a War with *France*, 75

King *Charles* forbids by a Proclamation his Subjects to hear *Maſs* in the Queen's Chapel, or in the Houſes of Embaſſadours, *ibid.*

George Digby Earl of *Briſtol*, dies In this Year 1676, 76

1676. Feb. 15. The Parliament meets again, *ibid.*

George Villiers Duke of *Buckingham* undertakes to prove that the Parliament was diſſolved by the laſt Prorogation for *Fifteen* Months, 78

He is ſeconded by *James Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*, A. A. *Cooper* Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and *Philip* Lord *Wharton*, 79

CHAR. II. 1677. They are all Four ſent to the *Tower*. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* remains Priſoner there a Year, Page 79
The Commons vote to grant the King *Five Hundred and Eighty Thouſand* Pounds for building thirty Ships; and continue for three Years the additional *Tax* upon *Beer*, *ibid.*
March 17. *Lewis* XIV takes *Valenciennes* and *Cambray*, 81
The Commons preſent an Addreſs to the King againſt *France*, 79
1677. The King returns a general Anſwer thereto, 80
28. They preſent to him a ſecond Addreſs upon the ſame Subject, *ibid.*
April 9. The King gives an Anſwer to it, in which he demands Money to enable him to make ſuitable Preparations, *ibid.*
William III Prince of *Orange* is defeated by the Duke of *Orleans* at *Montcaſſel*, 81
The Commons inform the King in an Addreſs, that they intended to grant him *Two Hundred Thouſand* Pounds, 80
The King asks *Six Hundred Thouſand*, *ibid.*
16. He paſſes ſeveral Acts, particularly one for taking away the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo*, 81
The Parliament is adjourned to the 21ſt of *May*, *ib.*
20. The Citadel of *Cambray*, and St. *Omer*, ſurrender by Capitulation, *ibid.*
Though King *Charles* had no Deſign to make War againſt *France*, he makes uſe of that Pretence in order to get Money from the Parliament, 82
May 21. The Parliament meets again, *ibid.*
The King preſſes the *Money*-Bill, *ibid.*
The Commons diſtruſt the King, and the King makes as if he diſtruſted them, 83, 84
He makes a Speech to them, worded in obſcure Terms, *ibid.*
That Speech occaſions warm Debates in the Houſe of Commons, 85
26. The Commons preſent an Addreſs to the King, in which they earneſtly deſire him to go to War againſt *France*, 85, 86

CHAR. II. 1677. May 28. The King complains of it, and adjourns the Parliament to the 16th of *July*, Page 86, 87

He endeavours to bring the Prince of *Orange* and the *States*, to make a ſeparate Peace with *France*, 88

Sir *William Temple* having refuſed that Commiſſion, Mr. *Laurence Hyde* is ſent to the *Hague*, to try to prevail upon the Prince of *Orange* to comply with thoſe Terms, 89

Oct. 19. *William* III Prince of *Orange* comes to *England* to demand in Marriage the Princeſs *Mary*, the Duke of *York*'s eldeſt Daughter, *ibid.*

The King was for agreeing with the Prince of *Orange* upon the Terms of a *general Peace*, before the Concluſion of the Marriage; but the Prince abſolutely refuſes to do ſo, *ibid.*

King *Charles* yields at laſt, and the Marriage is concluded, 90

29. The City of *London* invites the Court to an Entertainment upon account of this Marriage, 91

Nov. 4. The Marriage is conſummated, *ibid.*

King *Charles* and the Prince of *Orange* agree upon a Plan for a *general Peace*, which is communicated to the King of *France*, *ib.* & 92

The Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* embark for *Holland*, *ibid.*

Dec. 3. The Adjournment of the Parliament is prolonged to the 4th of *April*, *ibid.*

King *Charles* ſuffers himſelf to be corrupted by *France*, and forſakes the *Plan* he had agreed on for a Peace, 93

He enters into *ſecret Negotiations* with *France*, *ibid.*

1677. *Jan.* 15. The Parliament is called together the 15th of *January*, and adjourned to the 28th of the ſame Month, *ibid.*

16. King *Charles* concludes a *defenſive League* with *Holland*, 96

28. The Parliament meets again, *ibid.*

The King makes a Speech to the Parliament, in which he inſinuates, That his being engaged in a War

CHAR. II. 1677. War with *France* was a Conſequence of the League with *Holland*; and demands Money for carrying it on, 97---99

The Commons preſent an Addreſs to him, in which they give him to underſtand, that they would ſee him actually engaged in a War with *France*, before they granted him any Supplies, 100

The King finds a Way to elude their Demand, 101

The Commons vote that the King's Treaty with *Holland* did not anſwer their Deſires ſignified to his Majeſty, 102

They reſolve to grant him a Supply, but with ſtrict Limitations, *ibid.*

Anthony Aſhley-Cooper Earl of *Shaftsbury*, is releaſed out of the *Tower*, 103

March. *Lewis* XIV takes *Ghent* and *Ipres*, *ibid.*

The Commons prepare a Bill for the raiſing Money by Way of *Poll-Tax*, *ibid.*

14. They pray the King in an Addreſs to declare War againſt *France*, *ibid.*

20. The King gives his Aſſent to the *Poll-Bill*, and adjourns the Parliament to the 11th of *April*, 104

1678. *Apr.* 11. The Parliament meets, and is adjourned to the 19th, *ibid.*

19. The Parliament meets again, *ibid.*

The King acquaints both Houſes that the *Dutch* were thinking to make a ſeparate Peace, and deſires their Advice upon that Affair, *ibid.*

The Commons adviſe him to act vigorouſly againſt *France*; and vote that the *League* concluded with *Holland* was not conſiſtent with the Safety of the Kingdom, *ibid.*

The King is diſpleaſed with that Vote, *ibid.*

May. The Commons complain of the King's Anſwers to their late Addreſſes, and deſire him to remove thoſe Counſellors that adviſed him to give thoſe Anſwers, particularly the Duke of *Lauderdale*, 104, 105

The King gives them an angry Anſwer, 105

CHAR. II. 1678. He prorogues the Parliament to the 23d of *May*, Page 105

The *States-General* ſend Mr. *Van Lewen* to King *Charles*, to let him know, that unleſs he would declare War againſt *France*, they were diſpoſed to a Peace, *ibid.*

King *Charles* reſolves to take the *Money* offered to him by *France*, 106

A Treaty is negotiated at *London* between him and *Lewis* XIV, *ibid.*

Lewis impoſes upon him, 107

May 23. The Parliament meets again, 108

The King makes a Speech to them, about the *Army*, and a *Supply of Money*, *ibid.*

27. The Commons offer to maintain the Army, if the King would go to War with *France*, 109

June 2. They vote that the *Army* ſhould be *disbanded* by the End of the Month, *ibid.*

The King is againſt the *disbanding* of it, till the Peace was concluded, *ibid.*

The Commons extend the Time of doing it, as to the Forces in *Flanders*, to the 27th Day of *July*, 110

15. They vote that after the 18th of *June*, no Motion ſhould be made of any new *Supply of Money*, till after next Receſs, *ibid.*

18. The King acquaints both Houſes with the *Peace* between *France*, *Spain*, and *Holland* being nigh concluded, *ibid.*

He demands *Money*, and an Augmentation of his Revenue, 110, 111

30. A Difficulty is ſtarted relating to the Evacuation of ſome Towns by the *French*, which retards the ſigning of the Peace at *Nimeguen*, 112, 113

July 15. An Act is paſſed for granting a Supply of *Six Hundred Thouſand* Pounds for *disbanding the Army*, 112

And an Act for granting an *additional Duty* to his Majeſty upon *Wines* for three Years, *ibid.*

As alſo an Act for *burying* in *Woollen*, *ibid.*

The Parliament is prorouged to the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, *ib.*

King

CHAR. II.

1678. July 26. King *Charles* concludes a League with the *States* for obliging the *French* to surrender the *Six* Towns, Page 113

He repents of it, and breaks the Measures of the *States*, 114

Mons is blocked up by the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, 116

Aug. 11. The *Peace* is signed at *Nimeguen*. 115

13. Dr. *Israel Tongue* makes a Discovery to the King of the *Popish Plot*, 117---121

14. The Battle of St. *Dennis* is fought, 116

King *Charles* will not suffer honest *William* [*Ireland*] and *Thomas Pickering* to be apprehended, nor the Conspiracy to be spoken of, 122

Beddingfield receives some *Letters* relating to the *Plot*, which he carries to the Duke of *York*, *ibid.*

Those Letters are examined by the Council, and the Affair is made Publick, 123

Titus Oates appears as a Witness in the Conspiracy, and gives a *Narrative* of it, 123---128

The *Council* pays no regard to his Discovery, 128

Sept. 6. *Tongue* and *Oates* take Measures to bring the Affair before the Parliament, 129

They apply to Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*, a Justice of Peace; and *Oates* swears before him to the Truth of his *Narrative*, *ibid.*

27. The *Council* resolves to examine the Business of the Plot to the bottom, *ibid.*

28. Dr. *Israel Tongue*, *Titus Oates*, and ---*Kirkby* are examined, and the *Council* provides for the Safety of the two first, 130

Octob. Several *Jesuits*, and other of the *Conspirators*, are apprehended, *ibid.*

Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* is murdered, 130---132

The *Papists* are accused of having done it, 131

Thomas Osborne Earl of *Danby*, and High-Treasurer, communicates the Plot to the *Council*, 133

The King endeavours to keep it concealed from the Parliament, *ibid.*

The

CHAR. II. 1678. Oct. 21. The Parliament meets again. The King makes a Speech to both Houſes, Page 134, 135

The Lord-Treaſurer *Danby* communicates *Oates*'s *Narrative* to the Commons contrary to the King's Order, 135

The Commons communicate it to the Houſe of Lords, *ibid.*

Octo. 22. Both Houſes preſent *Three* Addreſſes to the King. The firſt to deſire him to appoint a *Faſt*. The

23. ſecond, to require the Removal of all *Popiſh*

24. Recuſants out of *London:* The third to pray the King's Order to the Lord-Chamberlain, that no unknown Perſon might have Acceſs to his Majeſty, *ibid.*

Titus Oates is examined by the *Commons*, 136

Six and Twenty of the Conſpirators are apprehended; and, among the reſt, *William Herbert* Earl of *Powis*, *William Howard* Lord Viſcount *Stafford*, *Henry* Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, *William* Lord *Petre*, *Thomas* Lord *Bellaſyſe*, and Sir *Henry Tichbourne* Bart. all Papiſts, 139

31. The Commons vote, That there is, and hath been a Damnable and Helliſh Plot contrived and carried on by *Popiſh Recuſants* for Aſſaſſinating the King, for Subverting the Government, and for Rooting out the Proteſtant Religion, 137

The Houſe of Lords concurs with this Vote, 138

The King iſſues out a Proclamation againſt the *Papiſts*, 139

And another for diſcovering any of his *Guards* that ſhould embrace the *Romiſh* Religion, *ib.* & 140

Nov. 4. A Debate ariſes in the Houſe of Commons for an Addreſs to the King, that he would be pleaſed to remove the Duke of *York* from his Perſon and Councils; but it is put off till another Day, 140

6. *William Bedloe* is brought up to *London*, 141---144

7 & 12. He is examined *twice* by the Lords, 142

9. The King makes a Speech to both Houſes, to divert the Commons from their Deſigns againſt the Duke of *York*, 140, 141

A Pro-

CHAR. II. 1678. Nov. 12. A Proclamation is iſſued out, forbidding the *Papiſts* to remove above *Five* Miles out of their Houſes, Page 144

The Commons preſent an Addreſs to the King, to deſire him, That the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* might be tendered to all his *Servants* and Domeſticks about the Court, *ibid.*

The King grants their Requeſt, with Exception of the menial Servants of the Queen and Dutcheſs of *York*, *ibid.*

The Commons inſiſt upon their Demand, 144

18. Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* Secretary of State, is ſent to the Tower by the Commons, for counter-ſigning Commiſſions for *Popiſh* Officers, 145

The King releaſes him, *ibid.*

The Commons preſent an Addreſs to the King to juſtify their Proceedings, 145, 146

The King promiſes to recall all his *Commiſſions* granted to Popiſh-Officers, 146

The Bill for diſabling *Papiſts* from *ſitting* in Parliament paſſes both Houſes, *ibid.*

A Proclamation is iſſued out againſt *Romiſh* Prieſts and *Jeſuits*, 147

The King deſires the Commons either to grant him Money to keep up his Forces in *Flanders*, or to disband them, *ibid.*

The Commons come to this Reſolution, That all the Forces raiſed ſince the 29th of *September* 1677, ſhould be disbanded, *ibid.*

27. *Edward Coleman* Secretary to *James* Duke of *York*, is brought to his Tryal about the Popiſh Plot, 148---159

He is condemned as guilty of High-Treaſon, 159

The King publiſhes a Proclamation to encourage *further Diſcoveries* about the *Plot*, *ibid.*

30. He gives the Royal Aſſent to the Bill for *diſabling Papiſts from ſitting in Parliament*, and for *disbanding* the Forces; but abſolutely rejects the Bill *for raiſing the third Part of the Militia*, 147

Edward

CHAR. II.

1678. Dec. 3. *Edward Coleman* is executed, without making any Confeſſion, Page 159

Titus Oates, and *William Bedloe*, accuſe *Queen Catharine* of being concerned in the Plot, 160

The King ſtops this Accuſation, *ibid.*

The Commons preſent an Addreſs againſt the *Queen*, *ibid.*

6. They impeach of *High-Treaſon* the *Five Lords* in the Tower.

17. *William Ireland*, *Thomas Pickering*, and *John Grove*, all three *Jeſuits*, are brought to their Tryals, 160---165

They are condemned, 165

Thomas Osborne Earl of *Danby*, is brought into Troubles by Means of *Ralph Montague* Eſq; 168, 169

21. He is accuſed of *High-Treaſon* by the Commons, 170

Miles Prance is taken up for the Murder of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*, 172

He denies all, is ſent to *Newgate*, and being afterwards examined, he confeſſes every Thing, 173---176

30. The King prorogues the Parliament to the 4th of *February*, 171

Robert Spencer Earl of *Sunderland*, is made *Secretary of State*, *ibid.*

1679. January. *Thomas Osborne* Earl of *Danby* is turned out from being High-Treaſurer, *ibid.*

Prance retracts before the King all that he had depoſed, 177, 178

He retracts once more, and then confeſſes all he knew, 178, 182

His Depoſition concerning Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*'s Murder, 182---184

Proclamations are iſſued out againſt the *Catholicks*, 185

Stephen Dugdale accuſes *Five Jeſuits* and one Prieſt of being concerned in the *Plot*, *ibid.*

24. The King diſſolves his 2d Parliament, after it had continued almoſt *Eighteen* Years, and calls a new one for the 6th of *March*, 186

William

CHAR. II. 1678. *William Ireland* and *John Grove* are executed, without making any Confeſſion, Page 165
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21. They examine Dr. *Iſrael Tongue*, *Titus Oates*, *William Bedloe*, and ----*Everard*, 197
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14. *Richard Langhorn* a Counſellor at Law of the Temple, and a *Papiſt*, is brought to his Tryal, 226---230

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22. *James Scot* Duke of *Monmouth* defeats the *Rebels* in *Scotland*, 221

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14. *Richard Langhorn* is executed, 230

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Anthony Ashley-Cooper Earl of *Shaftsbury* is turned out from being *President of the Council*, *ibid.*

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26. The 4th Parliament of King *Charles* II meets, and is prorogued to the 15th of *April*, 243

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20. The King ſends him back into *Scotland*, 250

21. The Parliament meets, *ibid.*

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13. The Commons preſent a *Remonſtrance* to the King, in which they ſet forth, in *Eighteen* Articles, the Danger the Kingdom was in on account of *Popery*, 264---267

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June. *Edward Fitz-Harris*, and *Oliver Plunket* are executed, 303, 304

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Nov. 24. *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper* Earl of *Shaftsbury* is tried, and *acquitted* by the Grand-Jury, 307

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1681. The *Presbyterian-Nonconformists* are prosecuted, Page 309

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1682. May. He goes back to *Scotland* by Sea, and is, in his Voyage thither, shipwracked, and very nigh being lost *ibid.*

He returns soon after to *England*, and hath a great Influence upon the Counsels of the King his Brother, 312

June. The *Lord-Mayor* and *Sheriffs* of *London* are elected of the Court-Party; Sir *William Prichard*, Sir *Dudley North*, and Sir *Peter Rich*, 314

July. *Anthony Ashley-Cooper* Earl of *Shaftsbury* escapes into *Holland*, and dies there, *ibid.*

Nov. 17. The *Lord-Mayor* and *Sheriffs* of *London* forbid the burning the *Figure of the Pope*, *ibid.*

Alderman *Thomas Pilkington* having an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* brought against him by the Duke of *York*, is fined *One Hundred Thousand* Pounds to the Duke's Use, 315

Thomas Thynne Esq; is assassinated by Count *Coningsmark*, *ibid.*

The King receives Two extraordinary Embassies; one from the King of *Fez* and *Morocco*, and the other from the King of *Bantam* in the Isle of *Java*, *ib.*

1682. Prince *Rupert*; *John Maitland* Duke of *Lauderdale*; and *Heneage Finch* Lord-Chancellor, and Earl of *Nottingham* dye, *ibid.*

James Butler Duke of *Ormond* is made a Duke of the same Name in *England*, *ibid.*

Robert Spencer Earl of *Sunderland* is restored to the Office of *Secretary of State*, *ibid.*

1682. The King goes to *Newmarket*, 317

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CHAR. II. 1683. Fourteen Aldermen and Citizens of *London* are tried for a *pretended Riot*, and condemned in great *Fines*, Page 317, 318

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1683. The King offers to reſtore her Charter, upon certain Conditions, *ibid.*

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The King puts out a Proclamation for apprehending Colonel *John Rumſey*, *Richard Rumbald*, *Richard Knelthorp*, *Edward Wade*, *Richard Goodenough*, Captain *Thomas Walcot*, *William Thompſon*, *James Burton*, and *William Hone*, who were informed a-againſt, 323

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Arthur Capel Earl of *Eſſex*, *William* Lord *Ruſſel*, and ſome others, are alſo taken up, *ibid.*

July 9. *Vienna* is beſieged by the *Grand-Vizier Kara-Muſtapha*, 350

12. Captain *Thomas Walcot* is brought to his Tryal, 323--- 325

And condemned, 325

William Lord *Ruſſel* is brought to his Tryal, 326 - 330

And condemned as guilty of High-Treaſon, 331

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21. The Univerſity of *Oxford* publiſhes a notable *Decree* about the *Power of Kings*, 337---345

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1683. July 22. Captain *Thomas Walcot*, *William Hone*, and *John Rouſe* are executed, Page 333

23. *William* Lord *Ruſſel* is beheaded, 333, 334

Colonel *Algernoon Sidney* is tried and condemned, 334---336

28. The Princeſs *Ann*, ſecond Daughter to *James* Duke of *York*, is married to Prince *George* of *Denmark*, 345

Sept. 2. *John* III, King of *Poland*, raiſes the Siege of *Vienna*, 350

Octob. King *Charles* orders the Judgement given upon the *Quo Warranto* againſt the City of *London* to be entered; and names a Lord Mayor, and other Magiſtrates, 345, 346---351

James Scot Duke of *Monmouth*, reconciles himſelf with the King his Father, 346, 347

The King grants him a Pardon, 348

He requires him to write a *Letter*, to juſtify the *Condemnation* of the Lord *Ruſſel* and Colonel *Sidney*, *ib.*

The Duke writes it, but ſoon repents thereof, and demands it back, *ibid.*

Decemb. The King *baniſhes* him from his Preſence and Court, 349

A violent *Froſt* happens this Year, which laſts from the Beginning of *December* to the 5th of *February*, *ibid.*

7. Colonel *Algernoon Sidney* is beheaded, 336

Tangier is demoliſhed this Year by the King's Order, 350

1684. *Thomas Osborne* Earl of *Danby*, and the *Four Popiſh Lords* in the Tower (the Lord *Petre* being dead ſome time before) are admitted to *Bail*.

John Hampden Eſq; who had been accuſed of being concerned in the late *Proteſtant-Plot*, is fined *Forty Thouſand* Pounds, 353, 354

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CHAR. II. 1683. *Titus Oates* is fined in *the same Sum*, for having called the Duke of *York* a *Traytor*, Page 354
He is indicted likewise for Perjury, *ibid.*
1684. June 20. *James Holloway*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrong* are executed for the late *Plot*, 354, 355
King *Charles* gets the *Charters* of the principal *Corporations* in the Kingdom surrendered to him, 355, 356
Octob. He musters his Army, 356
Decemb. The *Commission* granted by the King in 1681 for the Disposal of *Ecclesiastical Preferments*, is dissolved, 357
The *Hamburgh-Company* erects a Statue to King *Charles* II in the middle of the *Royal-Exchange*, 359
1684. The King publishes a *Declaration*, in which he thanks the Corporations for surrendering their Charters to him, *ibid.*
Feb. 6. King *Charles* II dies; after having reigned (since his *Restoration*) 24 Years, 8 Months, 9 Days, *ibid.*

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JAMES II.

JAMES II. *JAMES* Duke of *York* is proclaimed King by the Name of *James* II, Page 1
He assembles his *Privy-Council*, to whom he makes a Speech full of fair *Promises*, 2, 3
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9. King *James* goes publickly to *Mass*, 4
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Laurence

JAMES II.

1684. Feb. 16. *Laurence Hyde* Earl of *Rocheſter*, is made Lord High-Treaſurer; *Henry Hyde* Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord Privy-Seal; and *George Savil* Marqueſs of *Halliſax*, Preſident of the Council, Page 6

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1685. April. *James Butler* Duke of *Ormond* is recalled from being Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and two *Lords Juſtices* are appointed to govern that Kingdom, 53

The King forms a new Privy Council in *Ireland*, and fills it moſtly with *Catholicks*, 54

That Council impriſons Abundance of *Proteſtants* accuſed of having held Intelligence with the Duke of *Monmouth*, *ibid.*

23. The King and Queen are crowned, 8

The Crown happened to be too little for the King's Head, *ibid.*

The *King's Arms* painted in a Glaſs-Window in one of the Churches of *London*, fall down of their own accord, and are broken to Pieces; the reſt remaining ſtanding and unhurt, 9

The Parliament of *Scotland* meets at *Edinburgh*, and paſſes ſome Acts about *Religion*, the *Laws of the Kingdom*, and the *Exciſe*, &c, 9---11

James Douglaſs Duke of *Queensbury* is appointed the King's *High-Commiſſioner* in *Scotland*, 9

Archibald Campbel Earl of *Argyle*, perſwades *James Scot* Duke of *Monmouth* to invade *England*, 27, 28

May 5. The Earl ſails from *Holland*, and appears before the Iſle of *Orkney*, where he is ill received, 29

He ſails from thence round to the Weſt *High-Lands*, and lands near *Dunſtafnage*, *ibid.*

He publiſhes two *Manifeſto's*, *ibid.*

The Parliament of *Scotland* paſſes an Act for obliging all the Subjects of that Kingdom *to take the Oath of Allegiance* a-new, *ibid.*

Titus

James II. 1685. May 8. and 9. } *Titus Oates* is tryed for Perjury, Page 11---16

He is condemned to a large Fine; to be ſtript of his Canonical Habits; to be twice whipped within three Days; to ſtand in the Pillory five Times every Year as long as he lived; and to be kept cloſe Priſoner during the reſt of his Life, 14, 15

The *Whipping* Part of the Sentence is executed upon him with the utmoſt Severity, 15

Thomas Dangerfield is condemned to a *Five Thouſand Pounds* Fine, and to be *whipped* two Days together, 16

He is killed by *Robert Francis*, *ibid.*

Richard Baxter is tried for ſome of his Writings, and condemned to a Fine of 500 *Marks*, 17---19

19. The Parliament meets, 19

22. The King makes a Speech to the Parliament, in which he promiſes to ſupport the *Religion* by Law eſtabliſhed, and to preſerve the *Liberties* of the Nation; After which he ſpeaks of his *Revenue*, and of the Earl of *Argyle*'s Deſcent in *Scotland*, 19---21

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24. *James Scot* Duke of *Monmouth* ſails out of the *Texel*, 35

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The Houſe of Lords paſſes a Bill for *reverſing the Attainder* of *William Howard* Lord Viſcount *Stafford* in 1680, *ibid.*

Some Lords enter a Proteſtation againſt it, *ib.* &c.

The Parliament of *Scotland* grants the King a Yearly *Revenue* of *Two Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Pounds*, paſſes an Act againſt the *Covenant* in 1638, and two other Acts in favour of the *Royal Authority*, 27

The

JAMES II. 1685. The Parliament of *England* votes that they would ſtand by the King againſt the Earl of *Argyle* and his Adherents, Page 29
The *Committee of Religion* draws up ſome Votes againſt the *Presbyterians*, which are rejected by the Houſe of Commons, *ib.* & 30
May 30. Sir *John Trevor* the *Speaker* makes a Speech to the King, in preſenting to him the *Revenue-Bill*, 31
The King makes a Speech to both Houſes, after having paſſed the *Revenue-Bill*, wherein he diſcovers his Deſigns, 31, 32
The Earl of *Argyle* gathers about *three Thouſand* Men together, and incamps in the Iſle of *Boot*, 33
He is purſued, and paſſes into the County of *Argyle*, and from thence into *Dumbarton-ſhire*, 34
The King's Forces take the Caſtle of *Ellengreg*, which the Earl had fortified, and put therein his Cannon, Arms and Ammunition, *ibid.*
June 17. He is forced to fly, and to hide himſelf in the Water, *ibid.*
But is diſcovered by a Country Fellow, and carried to *Edinburgh*, *ibid.*
30. *Archibald Campbel* Earl of *Argyle* is beheaded, 35
June 11. *James Scot* Duke of *Monmouth* lands at *Lyme* in *Dorſetſhire*, 36
And publiſhes a *Declaration* or Manifeſto againſt the King, *ibid.*
14. He gathers together an Army of about *two Thouſand* Men, 38
15. And marches to *Axminſter* in *Devonſhire*, 39
16. An Act of *Attainder* is paſſed againſt him, 37, 38
18. He arrives at *Taunton* in *Somerſetſhire*, 39
His Army increaſes conſiderably, *ibid.*
20. He ſuffers himſelf to be proclaimed King at *Taunton* by the Name of *James* II, *ibid.*
And publiſhes *three Proclamations* againſt the King, the Parliament, and *Chriſtopher Monk* Duke of *Albemarle*, *ibid.* & 40
21. He advances to *Bridgewater*, where he is proclaimed King, *ibid.*

He

JAMES II. He marches towards *Briſtol*, Page 40
1685. But retreats back to *Bridgewater*, upon the News of the Approach of the King's Army, *ibid.*
Receives Information of the Defeat of the Earl of *Argyle*, *ibid.*
William III Prince of *Orange*, offers to come in Perſon and head King *James*'s Army: The King rejects his Offer, 41
Lewis Duras Earl of *Feverſham* is made General of the King's Forces, *ibid.*
He encamps at *Sedgemore* near *Bridgewater*, *ibid.*
June 27. Several *Acts* are paſſed to the King's Advantage, 38
July 2. The Parliament is adjourned to the 14th of *Auguſt*, *ib.*
6. *James* Duke of *Monmouth* attacks the King's Army, and is defeated, 41, 42
He is forced to fly on Foot, 42
He hides himſelf in a *Ditch*, where he is found and carried to *London*, *ibid.*
He writes a Letter to the King, and obtains Leave to ſpeak to him, 42, 43
The King refuſes to grant him his Life, 43
15. Dr. *Thomas Tenniſon*, and Dr. *George Hooper* get him to declare in Writing, *That the late King told him he was never married to his Mother*, 44
James Scot Duke of *Monmouth* is beheaded, *ibid.*
The King diſarms the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland*, 54
And fills the Army in that Kingdom with *Popiſh Officers* and *Soldiers*, *ibid.*
Colonel *Richard Talbot* is employed to *new-model* that Army, *ibid.*
The Lord-Chief-Juſtice *George Jefferys* is ſent by the King into the *Weſt* of *England*, with a ſpecial Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, to try the Perſons concerned in the late Rebellion with the Duke of *Monmouth*; and is attended with a conſiderable Body of Troops commanded by Colonel *Kirk*, 45
They execute their Commiſſion with a barbarous Cruelty, 45---48
Elizabeth Gaunt is burnt at *London*, 48

Several

JAMES II.

1685. Oct. 21. Several other Perſons are executed there; particularly Alderman *Henry Corniſh*, and *Charles Bateman* Chirurgeon, Page 48, 49

The King undertakes to render himſelf *abſolute*, and to eſtabliſh the *Romiſh* Religion in *England*, 50---53

Nov. 9. The Parliament meets again, 55

The King makes a Speech to both Houſes, to juſtify the Augmenting of his ſtanding Forces, and his admitting *Popiſh* Officers in the Army, 55---57

12. The *Lords* thank the King for his Speech, 58

The Commons adjourn the Debate, and take the *Speech* into Conſideration, *ibid.*

The vote to grant the King *ſeven Hundred Thouſand* Pounds, 59

They preſent an *Addreſs* to the King againſt the admitting *Popiſh* Officers in the Army, 60---63

17. King *James* returns an Anſwer to them full of Reſentment againſt their Addreſs, 63

The Commons offer a Bill to indemnify the *Roman-Catholick* Officers in the Army from the Penalties they had already incurred; and to capacitate by Act of Parliament ſuch a Number of thoſe Officers as the King ſhould give a Liſt of, 64

Henry Booth Lord *de la Mere*, and *Thomas Grey* Earl of *Stamford*, Priſoners in the Tower, preſent Petitions to the Houſe of Lords, *ibid.*

20. The King prorogues the Parliament to the 10th of *February*, *ibid.*

Decemb. *Henry Booth* Lord *de la Mere* is tried and acquitted, 65

Thomas Grey Earl of *Stamford* is admitted to Bail, *ib.*

Colonel *Richard Talbot* is made Earl of *Tyrconnel*, and Lieutenant-General of the Army in *Ireland*, 55, & 65

Henry Hyde Earl of *Clarendon* is conſtituted Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 55---66

John Sheffield Earl of *Mulgrave* is made *Lord-Chamberlain*, 66

And

JAMES II. 1685. And *Robert Spencer* Earl of *Sunderland* Secretary of State, Page 66

Henry Bennet Earl of *Arlington*, and Sir *John Marſham* die in this Year 1615, *ibid.*

1686. Apr. 29. The Parliament of *Scotland* meets, 66, 67

The King recommends to them his *Catholick* Subjects, 67

A Bill is brought into that Parliament in favour of the *Papiſts* in *Scotland*, but does not paſs, 68

The Parliament of *Scotland* is prorogued, *ibid.*

Richard Talbot Earl of *Tyrconnel* continues to fill the Army in *Ireland* with *Catholicks*, 68, 69

His violent Proceedings compel ſeveral *Engliſh* Proteſtants to leave *Ireland*, and the *Engliſh* Merchants to withdraw their *Effects* from thence, 69

Thomas Cartwright is made Biſhop of *Cheſter*, for preaching a Doctrine conformable to the King's Intentions, 70

The King removes, out of all the Courts of Juſtice, ſuch *Judges* as would not *aſſert his diſpenſing Power*, *ib.* & 71

He admits *Four Popiſh Lords* into his Council, *ibid.*

The *Judges* decide That the King has the Power of Diſpenſing with the *Penal-Laws* and *Teſt*, 71, 72

The *Roman-Catholicks* make publick and open Profeſſion of their *Religion* all over the Kingdom, 72

Four *Popiſh Biſhops* are conſecrated in the King's Chapel, and ſent to their reſpective *Dioceſſes*, under the Title of *Apoſtolical Vicars*, *ibid.*

Great Numbers of *Prieſts* and *Monks* flock into *England*, 73

All *Places* and *Preferments* are given to *Papiſts*, or to thoſe who were thought Popiſhly inclined, *ibid.*

The King puts out an Order, prohibiting the inferiour Clergy from preaching upon *controverted* Points in Divinity, *ibid.*

This Order is not regarded by ſome of the Clergy, *ibid.*

A Com-

JAMES II. 1686. *A Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs* is erected by the King, into which ſeveral *Papiſts* are admitted, Page 74

Aug. 4. and 9. *Henry Compton* Biſhop of *London*, is cited before that *Court of Inquiſition*, for not ſuſpending Dr. *John Sharp*, without Knowledge of the Cauſe, 75, 76

The Biſhop is ſuſpended, 76

Mr. *Samuel Johnſon* writes an *Addreſs to the Engliſh Proteſtants in King James's* Army, in which he exhorts them not to be aiding and aſſiſting in deſtroying the *Proteſtant Religion*, and overturning the Government, 77

He is degraded for it, ſet three Times in the Pillory, whipped, and condemned to a *Five Hundred Marks* Fine, *ibid.*

Miles Prance having an Information of *Perjury* brought againſt him, for his Depoſitions about the Murder of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*, pleads guilty, and obtains upon that account a Mitigation of his Sentence, 77, 78

King *James* labours to gain *Proſelytes* to Popery, 78

Robert Spencer Earl of *Sunderland* turns Papiſt, *ibid.*

Laurence and *Henry Hyde* Earls of *Rocheſter*, and *Clarendon* refuſe to embrace *Popery*, for which they are both turned out of their Places, 78, 79

The King ſends *Roger Palmer* Earl of *Caſtlemain* Embaſſadour to Pope *Innocent* XI, 79

Who gives the Embaſſadour but a cold Reception, *ib.*

The King removes *Proteſtants* out of all their Employments, and beſtows them upon *Roman-Catholicks*, 80

1686/7. The Parliament which was to meet the 15th of *February* is prorogued, 85

The King ſends into *Scotland* a *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience*, 86---88

The Council of that Kingdom cauſes it to be *publiſhed*, 88

1687. April 4. King *James* publiſhes one of the ſame Nature in *England*, 88, 89

The

JAMES II. 1687. The *Nonconformiſts* return him Thanks for it in ſeveral *Addreſſes*, Page 89

The *Proteſtants* do not fall into the *Snares* laid for them by the King, in order to ſet them at Variance; but on the contrary unite together for their common Intereſt, 90, 91

Nath. Crew Biſhop of *Durham*, *Thomas Barlow* of *Lincoln*, *Thomas Cartwright* of *Cheſter*, *Thomas Wood* of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, *Thomas Watſon* of St. *Davids*, and *Samuel Parker* of *Oxford*, countenance the King's arbitrary and illegal Proceedings, 91

The King ſends a *Mandate* to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, to admit *Alban Francis*, a *Benedictine Monk*, *Maſter of Arts*, without taking the *Oaths*, 91, 92

The Univerſity refuſes to comply, 92

Dr. *Peachel* Vice-Chancellor of that Univerſity, is deprived of his Office and Preferments, and ſuſpended, *ibid.*

The King tries to get *Anthony Farmer* choſen Preſident of *Magdalen*-Colledge in *Oxford*, 93

Apr. 13. The Fellows of that College elect Dr. *John Hough*, notwithſtanding the King's Mandate in behalf of *Farmer*, *ibid.*

June 6. They are cited to appear before the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners*, 94

12. Dr. *Hough* is turned out from being *Preſident*, and the Vice-Preſident, with another of the Fellows are ſuſpended, *ibid.*

From *June* to the latter end of *October*. The King inſiſts no longer on his Mandate to *Farmer*, and grants a ſecond in behalf of *Samuel Parker* Biſhop of *Oxford*, *ibid.*

The Fellows refuſe likewiſe to comply with this *Mandate*, *ibid.*

The King appoints Commiſſioners to *viſit the College*, of which moſt of the *Fellows* are expelled, and ill-uſed, 95

Roman-Catholicks are put in their Places, *ibid.*

April. The King continues to promote the *Popiſh Religion*, by endeavouring to gain *Proſelytes*, and by conferring all Offices on *Papiſts*, *ibid.*

The

JAMES II. 1687. The Parliament that was to meet the 28th of *April*, is prorogued to the 22d of *November*, Page 97
June 11. A flattering Addreſs is preſented to the King from ſeveral Members of the *Middle-Temple*, 96, 97
July 2. The Parliament is diſſolved, 98
The King orders *Quo Warranto's* to be brought againſt ſeveral *Corporations*, 99
He uſes his utmoſt Endeavours to get a new Parliament at his Devotion, 98
And *Cloſets* People for that Purpoſe, *ibid.*
King *James* makes a *Progreſs* to influence the approaching *Election* of Parliament-Men, 100
3. *Ferdinand Dada*, the Pope's Nuncio, makes his publick Entry into *Windſor*, 101
Nov. 11. Father *Edward Petre* the King's Confeſſor, and a *Jeſuit*, is ſworn of the King's Privy-Council, 102
King *James* acts with great Beneficence and Generoſity towards the *French*-Proteſtant-*Refugees*, *ibid.*
George Villiers Duke of *Buckingham*, and Sir *William Petty* die in this Year 1687, *ibid.*
1687/8. *Jan.* 2. The King iſſues out a Proclamation, to give Notice of the *Queen's being with Child*, and orders a *Thankſgiving* for it, 103
Several Suſpicions are raiſed about that Matter, 104
The *Jeſuits* give out, *That the Queen would certainly be brought to Bed of a Son, and that her Conception was miraculous*, 104, 105
The King reſtrains the printing Books in Defence of the *Reformed Religion*, 105, 106
He gets *James Stuart* to ſound the Inclinations of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, about the repealing of the *Teſt* and *Penal-Laws* againſt the *Papiſts*, 106---108
Some Letters paſs between Mr. *Stuart* and Mr. *Penſionary Fagel* upon that Subject, *ibid.*
King *James* gives out Commiſſions for *Raiſing new Troops*, and for *augmenting his Fleet*, 109
17. He ſends to demand the ſix *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments that were in the Service of the *States* of *Holland*, *ibid.*

JAMES II. 1687. The *States* excuſe themſelves from ſending them, Page 109

King *James* iſſues out a Proclamation, commanding the Return of all his Subjects that were in the Service of the *States*: Few of them comply with that Order, *ibid.*

March 2. He puts out another Proclamation forbidding his Subjects to *liſt* themſelves in the Service of any Foreign Prince, *ibid.*

1688. *Apr.* 27. There comes out a *New Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience*, 110---112

The King orders the *Biſhops* to cauſe it to be *read* in all Churches, 112

Some of the Biſhops meet, and debate about the King's Order, *ibid.*

May 18. *Seven* of them preſent a Petition to the King againſt it, 113---115

His Majeſty is highly offended at their Petition, 115

The 7 Biſhops are ſummoned before the Council, 116

June 8. And make their Appearance, *ibid.*

They are ſent to the Tower, 117

10. The Queen is reported to be brought to Bed of a *Prince*, 118

Suſpicions ariſe about that Matter, *ibid.*

Some believe that *the Queen was not with Child*, and that there was a *pretended* Heir of the Crown put upon the Nation; others imagine that ſhe was really with Child; but that having miſcarried, ſhe *ſuppoſed* a Child, who happening to die, as well as a ſecond, ſhe took a third, and made it paſs for her own; others pretend that ſhe was actually with Child, and that the Child was her own,, 118---141

The King ſends for *Troops* from *Ireland*, and places abundance of *Iriſh* and *Popiſh* Officers in the *Engliſh* Regiments, 141

The City of *Carliſle* ſends up a flattering Addreſs to his Majeſty, 142

15. The *Seven* Biſhops appear at the Court of *King's-Bench*, and obtain a Reſpite, *ibid.*

They

JAMES II.

1688. They are admitted to *Bail*, Page 143
June 29. They appear the second time, *ibid.*
30. And are acquitted, *ibid.*
Great *Rejoycings* are made upon that Occasion at *London*, in the Army, and all over the Kingdom, 144
The Earl of *Lichfield*'s Regiment refuses to contribute to the abrogating of the *Penal-Laws* and *Test*, *ibid.*
The King fills the Vacancies in his Army with *Irish* Papists, 145
But, not without meeting with Opposition from this Quarter, as well as from his *Fleet*, where he caused *Mass* to be said, *ibid.*
Nath. Crew Bishop of *Durham*, *Thomas Cartwright* of *Chester*, and *Thomas Sprat* of *Rochester*, cause the *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience* to be read in their *Dioceſſes*, 146
Nine Ministers in *Chester*-Diocess send an *Addres* to the King upon that Occasion, *ibid.*
July 12. & *Sept.* 15. The *Eccleſiastical Commiſſion* sends Orders to all *Chancellors*, &c. to enquire in what Churches the *Declaration* was read, and in which not: But they are not much minded, 147
Thomas Sprat Bishop of *Rochester* withdraws from the *Eccleſiastical Commiſſion*, and gives his Reasons for it in a Letter to his *Collegues*, 148
The *Church of England-Men* and the *Presbyterians*, or the *Tories* and *Whigs*, join, in order to oppose the King's Designs, 148---152
The leading Men of both Parties take the Resolution of inviting over *William* III Prince of *Orange*, 152
Several of the *English* Nobility and Gentry repair to him, 153
They apply to the *States-General*, who return them a favourable Answer, 154
The Prince of *Orange* prepares for his Expedition into *England*, with a good Body of Troops, 154--156
King *James* gives no heed to the Informations that were sent him of the Prince's Preparations, 156

JAMES II.

1688. *Aug.* 24. He declares by a Proclamation that he intends to call a Parliament, Page 157

25. *France* offers him *Succours*, which he refuſes, *ibid.*

King *James* enters into a private *League* with that *Court.*

The *States* return a very unſatisfactory Anſwer to King *James*'s *Memorial*, in which he demanded of them the Reaſons of their great Preparations, 158

He uſes ſome Means to put himſelf into a Poſture of Defence, *ibid.*

King *James* diſowns the *Memorial* preſented to the *States* by Count *d'Avaux*, in which they were threatened with an *Invaſion* from *France*, 159

Sept. 21. He publiſhes a Proclamation, in which he promiſes to redreſs Abundance of *Grievances*, 161

Rejects a Propoſal made to him by Monſieur *Barillon*, to deſire *Lewis* XIV to carry the War into *Holland*, 162

Lewis Duras Earl of *Feverſham* is appointed General of King *James*'s Army, *ibid.*

King *James* diſowns to the *States* his having entered into a *League* with *France*, *ibid.*

The Prince of *Orange* conceals no longer his Deſigns, 162

King *James* is in a great Conſternation, and conſults the *Biſhops* to know what Courſe he ſhould take, 163

28. He iſſues out a Proclamation to give Notice of the approaching Invaſion, 164, 165

Octob. 1. The Prince of *Orange* publiſhes a *Declaration* or *Manifeſto.*

The *States-General* publiſh a *Reſolution*, *containing the Reaſons that had obliged them to aſſiſt the Prince of* Orange *with Ships, Men, and Ammunition.*

2. The King takes off the Suſpenſion of *Henry Compton* Biſhop of *London*, appoints a new *Lord-Mayor*, and promiſes to reſtore the *Charter* of that City, 165

JAMES, II. He publiſhes a *General Pardon* with ſome Exceptions, Page 165

1688. Oct 3. The *Biſhops* preſent to the King the Reſult of their Conferences, upon the Points in which his Majeſty had deſired their Advice, 166, 167

The King puts moſt of the Articles they had adviſed him to in Execution, 168

His Proceedings with regard to *Magdalen-College* give riſe to freſh Suſpicions, 168, 169

He augments the Number of his *Forces*, and takes ſome Precautions againſt the threatened Invaſion, 169

Orders all the *Popiſh Chapels* to be ſhut up, 170

The pretended Prince of *Wales* is baptized, and named *James-Francis-Edward*, *ibid.*

A Pamphlet is publiſhed in *Holland* about the *Birth* of that Prince, entitled, *A Memorial of the Engliſh Proteſtants, preſented to their Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, 170

19. The Prince of *Orange* puts to Sea with his Fleet: It is diſperſed by a *Tempeſt*.

22. King *James*, upon Occaſion of the aforeſaid *Memorial*, aſſembles an extraordinary Council to prove the *Birth* of the Prince of *Wales*: Several *Witneſſes* are examined about that Matter, and their Depoſitions enrolled in *Chancery*, 171---176

28. *Robert Spencer* Earl of *Sunderland* is removed from his Places of *Preſident of the* Council, and *Secretary of State*, 176

The King grants *particular Pardons* to ſeveral Perſons, 177

Upon a falſe Rumour of the great *Damages* ſuſtained by the *Dutch* Fleet, King *James* revokes ſome of his late *Acts of Grace*, 185

The *Biſhops* excuſe themſelves from diſowning publickly the Prince of *Orange*'s Manifeſto, 186

The King publiſhes it, with Animadverſions upon it, 187

JAMES II. 1688. The Prince of *Orange* writes to King *James*'s Army, and Admiral *Arthur Herbert* to the *Fleet*, to diſſwade them from adhering to King *James*, Page 187
The *Fleet* was ill-affected to the King, *ibid.*
Nov. 1. *William* Prince of *Orange* puts to Sea again, 188
3. He ſtops between *Dover* and *Calais*, and holds there a *Council of War*, *ibid.*
5. He arrives at *Torbay*, where he lands his Forces, 189
6. From thence he marches towards *Exeter*, 190
King *James* orders his Army to *rendezvous* on *Salisbury*-Plain, *ibid.*
He diſcovers ſome Reſolution, upon the News of the Prince of *Orange*'s Landing, 191
And publickly declares, That he would look upon all thoſe as his Enemies, who ſhould adviſe him to treat with that Prince, 192
The Prince arrives at *Exeter*, and ſtays there *Nine* Days, before any Perſon of Note comes in to him, *ib.* &c.
On the 10th Day conſiderable Numbers of the *Gentry* of the adjacent Parts wait upon him, and draw up an *Aſſociation*, which is ſigned in ſeveral Places of the Kingdom, by abundance of People, 193
The Prince of *Orange* marches towards *Salisbury*, 194
Great Numbers *deſert* in the King's Army, *ibid.*
Edward Hyde Lord Viſcount *Cornbury* goes over to the Prince of *Orange*, and carries with him ſome Regiments, *ibid.*
Several *Lords* appear in Arms in divers Places, and declare for the Prince, *ibid.*
A Petition is preſented to the King by ſeveral *Peers* in *London*, to deſire him to call a *free Parliament*, *ib.*
He is afraid of being *delivered up* to the Prince of *Orange*, 195
17. Goes to the Army at *Salisbury*, and leaves in *London* a *Council* conſiſting moſtly of *Papiſts*, *ibid.*
19. King *James* arrives at *Salisbury*, 196
Upon his coming thither he is taken with a *Bleeding at the Noſe*, which returns upon him the next Day, *ibid.*

Moſt

JAMES II. 1688. Moſt of the *Chief Officers* of his Army declare to him that they could not in Conſcience fight againſt the Prince of *Orange*, 196
Many conſiderable Officers *deſert* him, 196, 197
John Lord *Churchill* (afterwards Duke of *Marlborough*) leaves him, and writes a Letter to him to excuſe his Defection, 196---198
King *James* returns to *London*, 198
He promiſes *a Pardon* to ſuch of his Subjects, as ſhould quit the Prince of *Orange*, *ibid.*
George Prince of *Denmark* leaves him, and goes over to the Prince, *ibid.*
The Prince of *Orange* comes to *Sherborn* in *Dorſetſhire*, *ibid.*
He makes his Entry into *Salisbury*, 199
John *Granville* Earl of *Bath* ſecures *Plymouth* for the Prince of *Orange*; and the *Dutch* Fleet is conveyed into that Port, *ibid.*
Charles Talbot Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Sir *John Guiſe* ſeize *Briſtol* for the Prince, *ibid.*
Thomas Osborne Earl of *Danby* makes himſelf Maſter of *York*, *ibid.*
Colonel *Copley* ſurprizes *Hull*, 200
William Cavendiſh Earl of *Devonſhire*, with ſeveral other Lords and Gentlemen aſſembled at *Derby*, declare for a free Parliament, 199
The City and County of *York*, the Town of *Berwick*, and the *Nobility*, and other Inhabitants of *Nottinghamſhire*, follow their Example, 199, 200
Other Declarations are publiſhed in favour of the Prince, 200
Five Commiſſioners from *Scotland* come to him to demand a *Free Parliament* in that Kingdom, *ibid.*
Ann Princeſs of *Denmark* quits the King her Father, and goes to Prince *George* her Husband, 200, 201
She writes a Letter to the Queen to juſtify her Conduct on that Occaſion, *ibid.*
The King, in the preſent Exigencies, conſults the *Proteſtant* Lords, 201, 203

JAMES II. 1688. And, according to their Advice, declares by a Proclamation, That he would call a free Parliament, Page 203

Nov. 28. A Declaration is publiſhed under the Name of the Prince of *Orange*, but without his Knowledge, relating to the *Papiſts*, 204

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The END.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM